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Summer • 1947

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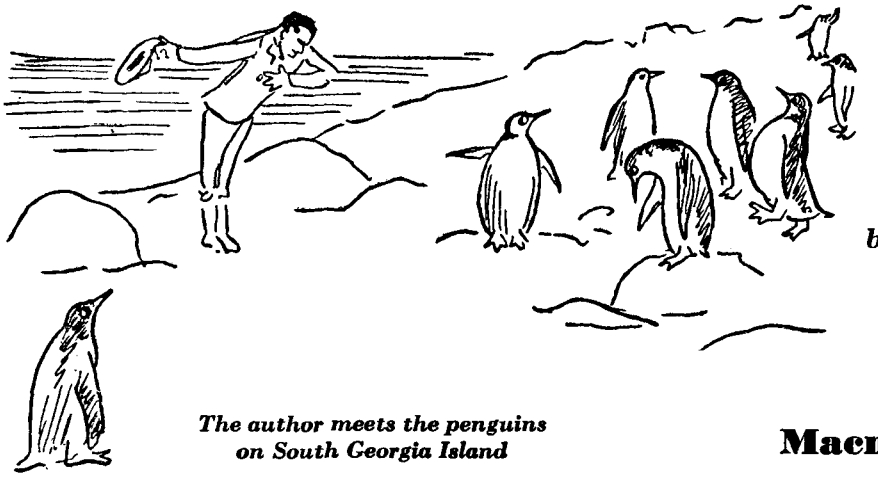

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Advertising Representatives: ELEANOR AND WILLIAM JAMES
217 Canner Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut

Office of Publication: Rumford Press, Concord, N.H. *Editorial and Executive Offices:* Phi Beta Kappa, 5 East 44th Street, New York 17, N.Y. *Subscription rates:* domestic—one year $3.00, two years $5.50, three years $7.50; foreign and Canadian—50 cents a year additional for postage. Published four times a year since 1932—December, March, June, and October. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Concord, N.H., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Printed in the U. S. A. Manuscripts accompanied by addressed and stamped envelopes will be returned if publication is infeasible, but no responsibility is assumed for their loss or injury, or for the views expressed in articles published.

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Summer • 1947 *Vol. 16 • No. 3*

CONTENTS

Self-Guardianship and Democracy, *An Editorial* . *Jerome Frank* 265
Toynbee: The Historian As Artist . . . . . *Richard Chase* 268
O'Neill's Tragic Sense . . . . . *Joseph Wood Krutch* . 283
Palestine and American Immigration . . . . . *Eugene Rostow* 291
Woman in the Lap of Death, *A Poem* . . . . . *Marcia Lee Anderson* . 303
With Woodcut by Käthe Kollwitz
Freud and Marx at UNESCO. . . . . *James Marshall* . . . 304
With Sleep in Your Hair *and* Historial, *Poems* . . *Eve Triem* 312
Vitamins at Work . . . . . *Florence Moog* 315
Beer-Hofmann: Double Heritage . . . . . *Alfred Werner* 325
Songs of Good and Evil, *Two Poems* . . . . . *Gloria Weinstein* . . . 335
Old Mill, *A Poem* . . . . . *Alma Robison Higbee* . 336

PORTRAIT
Einstein . . . . . *Leopold Infeld* 337
AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM — *Is This Education?* 342
An examination of education under the GI Bill of Rights, by veterans studying at six American universities and colleges.
THE READER REPLIES — Should the Scientists Resist Military Intrusion? . 353
Albert Einstein, Alan T. Waterman, Robert K. Merton, William Y. Elliott, Douglas P. Adams and Aldous Huxley
UNDER WHATEVER SKY . . . . . *Irwin Edman* 361
Three Poems . . . . . *Virginia Esterly Dunbar* 364
THE REVOLVING BOOKSTAND
Books About Russia . . . . . *Joseph Barnes* 367
OUR READERS COMMENT 382

Published quarterly for general circulation by Phi Beta Kappa, 5 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y. *Subscription rates:* domestic — one year $3.00, two years $5.50, three years $7.50; foreign and Canadian — 50 cents a year additional for postage.

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

VOLUME 16 *Summer 1947* NUMBER 3

Self-Guardianship and Democracy

PLATO, who detested democracy, depicted the ideal state as one in which the rulers, a small intellectual elite, serving as "guardians" to the community, would "find a considerable dose of falsehood and deceit necessary for the good of their subjects." Such "opportune falsehoods" or "magnificent lies," he said, could be used legitimately "for the public good." The rulers owed a duty to employ their superior intelligence in thus playing providence to the masses. The subjects were to be regarded as children, ever in tutelage to guardians.

It occasions no surprise that modern totalitarians should cherish Plato's ideal, should seek to maintain such an old-fashioned kindergarten state. It ought, however, to shock us when we see Plato's thesis accepted as the working principle of men who think of themselves as believers in democracy.

Such persons have occupied important governmental posts in this country, not only under "conservative" administrations but "liberal" as well. That, throughout our history, they have been numerous in our State Department is not too astonishing, for our

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"foreign office" has traditionally considered itself not quite an integral part of our democratic government. And the same might be said of our judiciary, thanks to the fact that, as in Tocqueville's day, many American lawyers and judges have thought that our judges constitute an aristocracy, practitioners of an "occult science." But it is amazing that the "papa knows best" attitude has been uncritically adopted elsewhere in our government by men to whom totalitarianism is infamous.

Consider, for instance, our recent wartime government bond-selling campaign. The dominant note was that, without widespread purchases of those bonds, we could not finance the equipment and support of our armed forces. Of course, that was but a "magnificent lie." The true purpose of popular bond sales was to curb inflation. Had the elaborate propaganda, in the movies and on the air, emphasized that purpose and explained it in detail, our people would have learned much about fiscal policy, a knowledge which would have stood us in good stead in peacetime periods of both inflation and deflation.

No special blame should attach to the sponsors of that misleading campaign, since, unfortunately, the cult of esotericism has always to some extent persisted in our government, has never been adequately examined and publicly criticized. Indeed, in our colleges, this approach has been deliberately inculcated by some teachers. They have encouraged their students to envision themselves as a self-appointed elite, versed in methods of "manipulating symbols" (myths) according to their appraisal of contemporary "mass psychology."

The time has surely come for forthright repudiation of such notions. The concept of governmental guardians cannot be reconciled with the basic concept of a democracy. We have rejected hereditary father-rulers. To substitute elected father-rulers was a step in the right direction. Yet the contrary is arguable, since, in a thoroughgoing kindergarten state, an hereditary or otherwise irremovable ruling caste, not answerable to the ruled, can often pursue fairly consistent and intelligent policies. But we believe that the policies of a mature democracy will be sounder, and will have the added moral value that they represent shared

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decisions. However, to enable a democracy to choose wisely those who, temporarily, execute its policies, the citizens must be responsible, mature. They will not, however, achieve that maturity until we insist that the persons in whom, for the time being, we vest authority deal with our citizens as adults.

In recent years, the Supreme Court has boldly abandoned the papa role. The Justices have openly acknowledged their human fallibilities, have discarded the "opportune lie" that judges possess some sort of semi-divinity. This new democratic attitude has distressed the followers of Plato among us, partly because they are afraid to grow up, partly because they lack faith in the capacity of their fellow Americans to attain maturity, to become responsible members of a democratic society. But the Court has set a splendid example. Let all our other governmental officials follow it. Then, democratically, we can become self-guardians.

Jerome Frank

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Toynbee: The Historian As Artist

Richard Chase

WHETHER or not night is hastening on, as Toynbee's Vergilian epigraph intimates, *A Study of History** is so far the profoundest response to our age of disasters. No sharper tongue than Toynbee's has denounced the barbarism of our modern intellectual culture, the "degradation of the democratic dogma," and the suicidal threat of our militarism.

According to Toynbee's theory, the First World War may have been the second rout in the rhythm of Rout-and-Rally through which disintegrating Civilizations pass. The first Rout was the Wars of Religion of the 17th century, and the first Rally was the success of the doctrine of Toleration. The Wars of Nationalism were the second Rout, and the Rally, unless it was the mock-armistice between the two World Wars, is still to seek. "We may and must pray," writes Toynbee characteristically, "that a reprieve which God has granted to our society once will not be refused if we ask for it again in a contrite spirit and with a broken heart."

Toynbee's attitude toward Toleration will show us the quality of his mind. He is a religious man, whose head rings with the sound of the New Testament and the melancholy diatribes of the old prophets. But he is also an heir of the Enlightenment. Toynbee is one of the few religious intellectuals of our time who make it clear that the Humanitarianism bequeathed to us by the Enlightenment is not under any circumstances to be abandoned. Yet

◎ RICHARD CHASE is a member of the department of English of Connecticut College. Mr. Chase, author of numerous articles, has just been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for a study of allegory and symbols in Herman Melville's work.

*The first three volumes of *A Study of History* appeared in 1934 and the second three in 1939. At least three more are in preparation. D. C. Somervell has recently published a one volume abridgment of the first six volumes (Oxford Press).

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Toleration must be saved from its own inadequacy. It was founded on a superficial psychology; it did not see in Man either his abysmal depravity or the pinnacles of his exaltation. Toleration, thereofore, cannot account for the extremes of human behavior.

The great threat to Mankind's career on earth is mechanized war and its domestic counterparts: political and industrial bureaucracy. The warlike Western Colossus gradually stamps out its own culture (with rubber stamps!) by exchanging art and science for technique. The Board of Education is displaced by a bureau of the War Office, and finds asylum in the Victoria and Albert Museum, "where it survived on sufferance as though it had been some curious relic of a vanished past." And Toynbee, walking down Whitehall in 1918, recalls the passage in *Matthew:* "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation . . . stand in the holy place . . . then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the World to this time. . . . And except those days should be shortened, there should be no flesh saved." Stated in the most general term, the great threat is Specialization, the blind alley in which so many species and so many human societies have met their extinction.

The motivating force of Toynbee's moral vision, then, is religious, but the principles of his thought derive from the Enlightenment as well as from the Christian ideal of pacifism and brotherhood.

II

The first six volumes of *A Study of History* are divided into four categories: the genesis, growth, breakdown and disintegration of Civilization (Toynbee finds twenty-one identifiable societies in the whole range of history which have emerged from the primitive mass and attained the stature of "Civilization").

What causes the genesis of a Civilization? Toynbee begins by examining the two classic explanations: first, the idea that certain peoples have been qualified by Race to construct Civilizations; and second, that certain peoples have been civilized through the influence of their Environment. Toynbee finds both the *mystique*

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of Racism and the determinist theory of Environment inapplicable (he has a masterly chapter on the sin of Racism as a political doctrine). But although both these theories must be rejected, they lead us to the correct explanation. The Race theory leads us to discern a creative Life Principle or *Elan Vital* common to all races. The Environment theory leads us to discern the principle of the Adversary or Obstacle, which in one form or another has offered a "challenge" to which every nascent Civilization has successfully "responded." The *élan vital* is the Spirit of God in Man. The Adversary is the Devil.

Only by these and other mythical images can we fully represent the persons of the drama of history; and these images comprehend such scientific distinctions as Darwin's "variation" (the Creative Spirit) and "natural selection" (the Adversary). As Toynbee repeatedly insists, the mythical beings who struggle for the mastery of human destiny are clashing forces of the human mind. But despite this naturalistic truth, modern science is wrong to suppose that we can understand the genesis of human creativity without the aid of mythically conceived images. (In an "Annex" to Vol. I, Toynbee has shown, what is certainly true, that one cannot write history at all without using fictitious and indeed mythical quantities.)

Societies pass over from the static condition of primitive man to the dynamic movement of Civilization by a decisive act, a "response" to a "challenge." Toynbee finds in Goethe's *Faust* a parable of this act of genesis. Faust is "perfect in knowledge" (as "Job is perfect in goodness and prosperity; Adam and Eve are perfect in innocence and ease; the virgins — Gretchen, Danae, Hippolytus — are perfect in purity and beauty"). But perfection is stasis and Man needs an "enemy to sow tares in the field." Mephistopheles takes up the role of the Adversary by wagering with God for the soul of Man. In this crisis, God (i.e., the Creative Spirit) has two limitations; He has attained perfection and so cannot perform a fresh act of creation by Himself, and when the Devil offers the wager God cannot but accept it. For God must "live dangerously" or not live at all ("Livingness" is the primary quality of Toynbee's God). The Devil is doomed to do

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God's work in this scene of the historical tragedy. As Goethe says, Mephistopheles "shapes and must create, though Devil."

The central figure of the piece is the human protagonist, who performs a dynamic act through which the "foundations of the great deep are loosed": Faust's curse upon the Universe is such an act, as are the curse of Job of the day of his birth, Eve's eating of the fruit, and Christ's rejection of the role of militant Messiah. The spiritual suffering of the protagonist is the ordeal of a man whose soul is the scene of the cosmic Challenge-and-Response. He will be "scourged, racked, shackled, blinded with hot irons and be put to every other torment. . . ." But through his agony the universe is torn out of its stasis and set in motion. Through the suffering of Man, God has achieved His purpose. Yet God is a hard master, and Man pays with suffering and death for having chosen to do God's work. In an agonizing neurosis of disillusionment and horror at the consequences of his choice, he rebels against them. But, finally, he is able to reconcile himself to his role as temporary instrument of his Master and Maker.

The reconciliation brings to an end this beat in the rhythm of history. The antagonist subsides into passivity and stasis again, though he has left Civilization at a higher level of Life than the one from which he started. The genesis of Civilizations is only one step in an infinite number which will eventually carry Man from inanimate Matter to the condition of God. The first bout of the Adversary against God in Toynbee's scale of nature is the cosmic near-collision between an outlaw comet and the Sun, which responded to the challenge by throwing the planets out of the shining perfection of its body. The last bout he envisions will transfigure some future Civilization into a Community of Saints. (My presentation of Toynbee's theory here as elsewhere will make it sound more fanciful than it is; I shall have to leave it to the reader to find for himself what richness of evidence Toynbee brings together to support it.)

Certain peoples have failed to create a Civilization either because the challenge was too severe, or because it was too easy. The Polynesian peoples (on the evidence of the statues of Easter Island) once started upward toward Civilization. But the for-

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midable ordeal of conquering the sea in frail canoes broke the will of the neophytes, and they retreated to their separate islands. The challenge of these fruitful oases in the ocean desert, however, was too easy, and so the Polynesian proto-civilization lapsed beneath the threshold of primitivism.

Other peoples have failed because, in psychoanalytic language, they were unable to face reality. Toynbee examines some of these under the headings of "The Temptations of Odysseus," "The Doasyoulikes," and "The Flesh Pots of Egypt":

> The Chosen People are unable to enter into their inheritance until [their] haunting and enervating recollection of the flesh pots has been effaced; and it is not effaced until forty years of purgatory — spent in wandering over the face of the wilderness which they have just put behind them in one straight and rapid trek — have brought the older generation to the grave and the younger generation to manhood.

I quote this because it shows how Toynbee (without knowing it) has illustrated Freud's "pleasure-principle" in the images of myth and universal history. Taken together, the theories of Freud and Toynbee offer a full view of the neurotic impulse commonly called "escapism."

III

God is the Hero of the first scene of the tragedy, but He is the Villain of the second. At the "critical point" of his Study where he tries to understand the "nature of the growths of civilizations," Toynbee turns to the Aeschylean myth of Prometheus. Zeus, once the young, creative revolutionary, enthrones himself on Olympus "in solitary, motionless, tyrannical state, with his foot on the neck of a prostrate Universe." The question behind Aeschylus' myth is whether the infant Hellenic Civilization can grow to higher levels. The challenger emerges in the person of Prometheus, who opposes Zeus on behalf of Man. Prometheus' dynamic act makes him the victim of a fierce onslaught of persecution, but it also forces Zeus to realize that he must "live dangerously" or not at all. Prometheus saves Zeus from himself by asserting the part of the Father-God's personality which Zeus has tried to stifle:

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> Prometheus works . . . for everything in life that Zeus now wishes to rule out. For Prometheus is an insatiable creator, a kindler of fire, a probing progressive mind. Prometheus is a mythical personification of the growth-process, the Bergsonian *élan vital.* He knows that, unless Zeus keeps on the move, the new ruler of Olympus will inevitably be overthrown in his turn, like Cronos before him; and therefore he gives Zeus no peace.

The process of growth consists of a series of challenges flung to the Old God by the titan. Civilization moves forward in a rhythm of stasis, overbalance, motion, stasis, and so on.

The genesis of a Civilization is the fruit of a response to an external challenge; its growth depends upon the response to an internal challenge. The Egyptiac peoples brought their Civilization into being by subjecting the swamps of the Nile Valley to human will, but "at the same time the great majority of these human victors, in the very act of subduing Physical Nature, had themselves fallen into subjection to a small minority of their own human kind who happened to be endowed with exceptional power of command or with exceptional intellectual ability" — the King and his "hierarchy of administrators, technicians, and priests." The crucial question was "how the royal lord and master of Egypt and the Egyptians would use his enormous power. Would he respond to this new challenge . . . in the spirit of Prometheus or in the spirit of Zeus?" The question was finally decided when the Kings became Pyramid Builders and Zeus won the day. "The pyramids have immortalized these autocrats, not as ever-living gods, but as never-to-be-forgotten grinders of the faces of the poor."

The ordeal of picturing forth the Kings' megalomaniac egotism in stone "broke the spirit of the Egyptian peasantry" and definitively wrecked the Egyptian essay at Civilization. The shepherds of the people, having lost the art of leadership, degenerated into a tyrannical Dominant Minority, and a once supple and growing enterprise was articulated into a repressive state whose "long-drawn-out decline displays a rigidity and a conventionality and a barrenness of all inspiration" strikingly at variance

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with its original creative acts. It had lost the indispensable means of growth: "self-determination" — the ability, that is, to direct its course toward the Community of Saints which is the goal of every Civilization.

The sin of the royal Pyramid Builders will lead us to Toynbee's idea of the relation between the leaders and the led in a growing Civilization. The Egyptian rulers "withdrew" from their own mundane scene of action, and instead of "returning" to it to perform fresh creative acts, made the "great refusal" to leave their social and spiritual isolation. No taunting Prometheus appeared to drive them out of the solitary stasis. The Egyptian Kings took only the first step in the spiritual movement of "Withdrawal-and-Return" through which all creative personalities pass.

Withdrawal-and-Return may be described in psychological terms as a withdrawal of the ego from the objective world into the unconscious, and the return of the ego into the world — in possession of new creativity and heightened vision. Its highest manifestation is the human withdrawal into the "dark night of the soul," and the emergence of the transfigured personality. It is symbolized by the death and resurrection of Christ and the other savior-gods. It is the highest resonance of the fundamental life-and-death cycle of the seasons and the lower forms of life. A society led by men who cannot profit by the spiritual ordeal of Withdrawal-and-Return, or will not follow men who can, is doomed to defeat.

In Toynbee's view, only Christian philosophy has perceived this truth. The Greeks and the Hindus imagined Utopias of the spirit where the sage might dwell, but they failed to perceive that the purpose of dwelling there was to be able to return to the world, refreshed. Christian philosophers and mystics have pointed out the moral error of this "great refusal." The pilgrim who embarks upon the spiritual transit must return to his fellow men. Through him Civilization struggles to rescue itself from its ghastly City of Destruction and transfigure itself into the City of God, which — unlike the celestial Cities of the Greeks and the Hindus — encompasses This World and The Other World in one community.

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> The withdrawal is an opportunity, and perhaps a necessary condition, for the anchorite's transfiguration; but by the same token this withdrawal can have no purpose, and perhaps even no meaning, except as a prelude to the return of the transfigured personality into the social milieu out of which he has originally come: a native environment from which the human social animal cannot permanently estrange himself without repudiating his humanity and becoming "either a beast or a God." The return is the essence of the whole movement, as well as its final cause.

It will be seen that Toynbee's is a great-man theory: "human individuals and not human societies . . . make history." In a growing Civilization the creative leaders lead "the uncreative mass" by enlisting the faculty of *mimesis*; in many subtle ways the mass of people "imitate" the Creative Minority so that the whole body social is able to grow *en masse* and in harmony. In a dying Civilization the Creative Minority is displaced by the Dominant Minority, and repression is substituted for *mimesis*. The mimetic song of Orpheus, who leads his people into the light of Civilization, is drowned out by "the raucous shouts of the drill-sergeant," who herds them back into the darkness.

IV

The breakdowns of Civilizations are moral failures of Man.

> One of the perennial infirmities of human beings is to ascribe their own failure to the operation of forces which are entirely beyond their control and immeasurably wider in range than the compass of human action. This mental manoeuver, which promises to convert an importunate sense of humiliation into a new assurance of self-importance — by setting the great engine of the Universe in motion in order to break one human career — is among the most insidious of the "Consolations of Philosophy."

Breakdown has a three-fold nature: a failure of the creative power of the ruling minority, a consequent withdrawal of *mimesis* by the majority, and the forcing of schisms in the body social. Toynbee shows at some length that Civilizations as we have so far known them do not expire because they have lost command over the environment. "The normal effect of blows and pressures from

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outside is stimulating and not destructive": it is only after a failure of nerve that Civilizations fall victim to their human or natural Environment.

The loss of "self-determination" is the first self-inflicted stroke of the suicide. In a Civilization on the downgrade, the interaction between individuals has gone wrong. The creative minority have taken a long chance by calling *mimesis* into play, for it is a dangerous weapon. Like human activity in general, it is 90 per cent mechanical. The all-important 10 per cent of human activity, the province of Life or the Creative Spirit, is easily articulated into a 100 per cent mechanism. *Mimesis* turns into drill. The music of Orpheus' lyre becomes the shout of the drill-sergeant, who resorts first to repressive discipline, and then to "frightfulness" against the rank-and-file. The "mechanicalness of *mimesis*" can be kept under control and Civilization can be kept in internal harmony only by the continual recruitment of Promethean spirits into the company of the leaders.

What are the sources of disharmony? First, the "intractability" of institutions unable to adapt themselves to new social forces. For example, Education in the modern Western World has been unable to absorb the shock of Democracy and Industrialism. Universal Education, in Toynbee's view (which is almost more than Marxist), arose from the self-interest of capitalism. The educationist is the tool of the yellow journalist (Lord Northcliffe is one of the minor villains of *A Study of History*). The press-lords first began to exercise their tyranny in "the democratic belligerent countries during the General War of A. D. 1914–18." And now, transformed into the ministers of propaganda in bureaucratic states whose purpose is total preparation for the wars of the future, they exert an unprecedented "mass-enslavement of elementarily educated minds," while Education, on its side, articulates itself into the fatal rigidity of industrial technique.

Just as *mimesis* contains its own nemesis (its "mechanicalness"), so does creativity. It seems to be a rule that any given creative man or minority can respond successfully to only one challenge, that the very success brings about a *peripeteia* or "reversal of roles." The Jewish heroes who led the "revolt against

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the triumphal progress of Hellenization" become the scribes and pharisees who reject the epiphany of Christ only a few generations later. The revolutionary Zeus becomes the lumpish deadwood in the path of Civilization.

The reversal of roles, the creative spirit become uncreative, takes many different forms, but they may be summed up as (1) untimely passivity and (2) untimely rushing into action which culminates in violence. The Creative Minority become passive commits the sin of idolatry by worshiping, not God the Creative Spirit, but an "ephemeral self, institution, or technique." This infatuation with the past Toynbee discovers, for one example out of many, in the history of South Carolina. Traveling in that state in the 1930's, Toynbee was struck by the archaic level of its culture; the South Carolinians were "still fighting the Civil War." North Carolina he found progressive and full of the "boosting" spirit. South Carolina was a Narcissus, hypnotized by the image of a dead self. In the *ante-bellum* Republic, South Carolina had flourished and grown rich, whereas, because of various sociological and environmental facts, North Carolina had been backward. But South Carolina had fallen victim to the nemesis of its own creativity, a fate which North Carolina had escaped. (The "idolization of an ephemeral self" is, of course, a Freudian conception; this is one of the many similarities between these two theorists. Cf. Freud's idea of the "repetition-compulsion" which he describes in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. This compulsion, the work of the death-instinct, corresponds to the fatal rhythm of Challenge-and-Response in a disintegrating Civilization.)

The Creative Minority which rushes into untimely action Toynbee studies in terms of Aeschylus' idea of moral regression: Κόρος, Ὕβρις, Ἄτη, or Satiety, Insolence, Infatuation. In a long and impassioned analysis of the moral failure of the Papacy, he traces the transformation of the Catholic Church after its first momentous spiritual accomplishments from creative leader into the scourge of Europe. Toynbee's general attitude toward the Catholic Church seems to be about as follows: However low the Papacy has fallen, it is still the only institution which really cuts across the suicidal barriers of Nationalism, still the only institu-

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tion which approaches being a Universal Church. And Universal Churches are, as Toynbee proposes to show in a future volume of his book, earthly intimations of the City of God; they are Man's so far abortive attempts to establish a Higher Civilization or Community of Saints. Speaking of the Papacy, Toynbee asks,

> Who but this very David, who has once deserted his flock, has the strength and hardihood to beard and smite and slay the lion and the bear and to deliver the lamb out of his mouth? Will our truant David once more take the field, to gather what Rehoboam has scattered and unite what Jeroboam has divided? And if, at the zero hour when all is sin and shame, a second Hildebrand does come to the fight and the rescue, will our deliverer this time be fore-armed, by the wisdom that is born of suffering, against that fatal intoxication of victory which has ruined the great work of Pope Gregory VII?

The conduct of the Papacy since this was written does not show any very striking signs of regeneration. David did not find "the repulsive Italian countenance" of Mussolini half so unbearable as it seemed to Toynbee.

V

Civilizations disintegrate, as they grow, in the rhythm of Challenge-and-Response. But the basic difference is that, whereas a growing Civilization responds successfully to a series of different challenges, a disintegrating Civilization can respond only to the challenge which it first fails to overcome; it must respond again and again until at last the unanswered challenge "dominates and obsesses and overwhelms the unhappy souls that are being progressively defeated by it." The repeated response to the same challenge forces the Civilization into a "merciless uniformity"; uniformity replaces the "perpetual variety which gives light and life" to growing Civilizations.

But though regimented uniformity is the weapon the tyrant uses to try to retrieve the rout, schism in the body social and in the soul of man is at once the seed and the fruit of disintegration. Still another rhythmic movement, related to Withdrawal-and-Return, comes into play — namely, Schism-and-Palingenesia. Three factions (already mentioned above) withdraw from the

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mass and from each other. 1) The Dominant or Uncreative Minority, who rely on repression and militarism, and finally try to impose a *Pax Ecumenica* or universal state in order to purchase a reprieve from the sentence of death which has been passed upon their Civilization. 2) The Internal Proletariat, who, though unable to achieve temporal leadership, create through their Creative Minority a new high religion and prepare the way for a new universal church. 3) The External Proletariat, who are estranged from the body social and form themselves into barbarian warbands which feed upon the carcass of the dying Leviathan. The reader will easily see that Toynbee has taken the decline of the Graeco-Roman World and the birth of Western Christendom as his prototype for this part of his theory.

Toynbee asserts his right to think of the soul as a reality: "The Soul alone is capable of being the subject of spiritual experiences and the author of spiritual acts." The inability to respond successfully to the challenge confronting a disintegrating Civilization forces schisms in the souls of its citizens. The "ways of behavior, feeling, and life" become polarized "into two alternatives — one passive and the other active, but neither of them creative."

The first pair of alternatives are *abandon* or "living according to Nature," (as in the theory of some Romantics) and *self-control* or mastery over Nature (Stoicism). The second pair of alternatives are *truancy* and *martyrdom*. The modern "treason of the clerks" against the humanitarian principles of Liberalism is a consequence of the earlier truancy of the intellectuals who succeeded in shifting Western morality from a spiritual to a secular foundation. Thomas Wolsey was a truant; Thomas More, a martyr.

The third pair of alternatives is the *sense of drift* and the *sense of sin*. The first may be seen in the theory of *laissez faire* and in those poetic philosophies developed in declining Civilizations which speak of the flux of existence; the second may be seen in those of our contemporaries who recognize in themselves the "graceless *Homo Occidentalis* who has turned against the Christianity that found him a barbarian and has promoted him to the lordship of creation," and who recoil from the fatal sequence of

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Satiety, Insolence and Infatuation into which the Challenge of Democracy and Industrialism has plunged them.

The fourth pair of alternatives — substitutes for the sense of style which is "the subjective counterpart of the objective process" of growth — are the *sense of promiscuity* and the *sense of unity*. The first we find in the vulgarization and barbarization of manners, morals and art, in *linguae francae*, in the syncretism of religion. The second alternative we find in theories of the universe which reflect the mundane universal state: the religious theory of the unity of all things in God, the scientific theory of the unity of all things in Law.

Disintegrating Civilizations seek to escape an ever more intolerable Present by the paths of Archaism and Futurism, two further alternatives, which in some ways overlap those described above. The Archaist tries to remedy the evils of the Present by leaping up the stream of time to a more satisfactory way of life in the Past; the Futurist tries to leap downstream to a Utopia-to-come which he believes himself able to discern in the distance. These two modes of thought and feeling are reflected in manners, in the arts, in political theory, and in religion. Both of these solutions fail because their aim is to establish a Utopia, though not of the Present, still of This World. Archaism is purely illusory and impractical. Futurism, however, though illusory as such, leads a Civilization in the right direction. The mundane Futurist Utopia "transcends" itself (as it did in the Jewish religion) into a Utopia in heaven, a celestial City of the Sun. This vision of the Future may have either of two consequences: an abortive one or a successful one. It leads the "sage" into a philosophy of Detachment, such as we find in Roman Stoicism or Indian Buddhism. But it will lead the "saint" to envision the ultimate destiny of Civilization. The Sage makes the "great refusal" to return from his City of the Sun or his Nirvana. But the Saint will return to the mundane scene, transfigured into the image of the Savior whose vision has shown him the City of God.

In a disintegrating Civilization certain symbolic figures appear and claim the right of leadership: the Creative Genius as a Savior, the Savior with the Sword, the Savior with the Time-Machine

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(i.e., the prophet of Archaism or Futurism), the Philosopher masked by a King (the champion of Detachment: Marcus Aurelius), and the God Incarnate in the Man. Except the last, each of these is an impostor, for in the frightening turmoil of his Time of Troubles he at last lays about him with the sword, having failed to find a non-violent solution. Only one figure survives this procession of tragic masks: the Man transfigured into God Incarnate, the Christian Savior who dies so that the City of Destruction may be transfigured into the City of God.

VI

I do not suppose that many readers will have come this far without bridling more than once at some of Toynbee's ideas as I have set them down mostly uncommented upon. I confess a great enthusiasm and respect for *A Study of History*, but I realize that Toynbee crosses certain logical gaps on shaky bridges. The specializing historians are already showing that Toynbee is wrong in *their* particular segments of History. The Marxists demonstrate to their own satisfaction that Toynbee cannot be taken seriously. But any historical theory may be shown to be undemonstrable in some of its applications.* Great and persuasive theorists — Marx, Freud, Toynbee — do not, however, exert their strongest influence because of the logical air-tightness of their theories, but rather because they fill an unconsciously felt vacuum with the force and urgency of their moral passion. A theory is an adequate "objective correlative" if it is logical enough to be philosophically respectable: it does not need to be unimpeachable.

The moral passion of Toynbee is lost on the specializing historians and the unregenerate Marxists. One may hope, however, that his influence will be felt by those heterogeneous intellectuals loosely called Liberals. *A Study of History* reminds us anew of the Liberal's moral error: his refusal to understand the complexity and range of human personality. Yet this act of understanding must be the first in any successful attempt at a view of

*I have myself tried to show some of the flaws in Toynbee's theory in the *Partisan Review* (Winter 1944).

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life and the human lot. When "the foundations of the great deep" are being loosed, it is foolish to furnish out our imagination with nothing but a paltry troop of mummers such as the Consumer, the Voter, the Common Man, the Fascist, the Capitalist. When, or if, Western man has come to believe that the only way of salvation is to articulate his Civilization into a regimented uniformity, it is foolish to forget that we are, or were, tissues and blood vessels of Leviathan.

We do not know conclusively that our Civilization is already rehearsing the act of rigor mortis, but we do know that our Western way of life has brought Western culture close to the level of barbarism, and it is foolish to imagine that any of us can shuffle off the heavy burden of our guilt. Toynbee has given us a new interpretation of the noblest concept of the Western mind: the idea that man's life is a tragedy. The impulse of the Liberal is to suppose that the tragic view of life has no utility, that it is in fact an encumbrance to all hopeful undertakings. "Toynbee's tragedy is of course a personal one." So Mr. Paul M. Sweezy writes in a recent number of the *Nation*. It is the basic liberal error — this facile shuffling on of the tragic view, like a man purging himself of an unclean thing.

That there is a vacuum in the Liberal mentality, I think is sufficiently apparent. That Freud, Proust, Eliot and others have helped to enrich the literary and moral criticism of those of us who call ourselves Liberals is also apparent. That this criticism still lacks richness and method will perhaps be admitted. The purpose of this essay has been to suggest that in Toynbee we find a new morality and aesthetic — a useful attitude, a magnificent company of masks, images and symbols for the aesthetic and moral apprehension of our Time of Troubles.

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O'Neill's Tragic Sense

Joseph Wood Krutch

IN THE autumn of 1916 New York saw its first play by Eugene O'Neill, when the newly organized Provincetown Players presented his one act melodrama, *Bound East for Cardiff* on the stage of a little theater on MacDougal Street. Thirty years later *The Ice Man Cometh* opened with considerable fanfare on Broadway, and immediately became the subject of a difference of opinion as absolute as any that can well be imagined. During the intervening years, no other American playwright had been so often proposed as one to whom the adjective "great" might appropriately be applied, yet it can hardly be said that O'Neill's reputation had actually been established on the basis of any general agreement. He had become, almost immediately, the darling of "advanced" theatrical groups, and gradually his name had grown familiar to a wider and wider audience, which sometimes turned his plays into commercial successes and sometimes allowed them to languish into failure. But neither the members of the general public nor the members of the critical fraternity came to any agreement concerning the reality or the importance of his talents. Some theater-goers admired him enormously, and so did some of both the dramatic reviewers and the literary critics. But he was also frequently damned by spectators as a bore, and by formal judges as a crude, empty and pretentious bungler. It would indeed be difficult to find any other American writer of comparable prominence concerning whom responsible opinions have remained for so long diametrically opposed to one another.

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And his most recent play, far from serving to promote a reassessment upon which some general agreement could be reached, became merely another occasion for the expression of the most irreconcilable differences.

If O'Neill were a popular writer discounted by critics, or a favorite of the critics neglected by the general public, there would be nothing especially notable in the fact. Neither would there be anything unique in the situation if the difference of opinion were one between, let us say, theatrical reviewers on the one hand, and critics of literature on the other. But the difference, besides being absolute, cuts across all the ordinary lines which separate the social, professional and intellectual groups, so that — to take newspaper reviewers as an example — a single issue of a New York evening newspaper published one critic's opinion that *The Ice Man Cometh* is a ponderous, incompetent bore and another's that it is, on the contrary, one of the masterpieces of modern writing. Moreover, this difference of opinion has been the prevailing rule since the days when O'Neill's earliest plays were being produced, and the only thing upon which there ever seems to have been general agreement is the fact that he is obviously not a merely mediocre writer. No one has ever called him a pretty good playwright or maintained that he was, let us say, the second or third best writer for the American stage. By common consent he is either the first or the twenty-fifth, either great or contemptible.

Insofar as the mystery can be explained, it must be, I think, upon the basis of two facts. One of them is that his intentions have been so different from any of those commonly pursued by contemporary dramatists that his detractors have either failed to understand what these intentions were or, understanding them, have disagreed with his admirers concerning the importance or even the legitimacy of what he was trying to do. The other, and even clearer fact, is that to a very unusual degree O'Neill exhibits both astonishing virtues and limitations which would be painfully obvious even in a much lesser writer. Hence eulogists and detractors are both right to the extent, at least, that both are talking about qualities which really exist and, like the famous blind

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disputants concerning the shape of the elephant, refuse to consider the features upon which their opponents base their opinion. Any attempt to consider anew the question of his possibly permanent stature must, it seems to me, consider first the question of his intentions, and then the question of his strangely limited if also remarkably great talents.

To look back now upon his earliest plays is to see that from the very beginning his themes were not those which most concerned the young writer of the time, though it is doubtful whether or not he himself realized in the beginning how little he was spiritually or intellectually a part of the group to which he seemed to belong. Superficially, *The Hairy Ape* (1922) might seem to be a sociological protest against the brutalization of the proletariat; *All God's Chillun* (1924) a protest against race prejudice; and *Desire Under the Elms* (1924) a contribution to the then popular sport of debunking our ancestors. Just so, later, *Strange Interlude* (1928) might seem to be an exploitation of the current interest in Freudianism. But to the author himself, if not to his public, it became clearer and clearer that his real interest was not sociology, on the one hand, or any specifically modern approach to moral problems on the other, but the eternal problem of man's paradoxical nature and his predicament in a universe which seems alien, but to which he desires, nevertheless, to be related. O'Neill's characters are divided into two classes: those who feel that they do and those who feel that they do not "belong"; and as he himself finally got around to saying, the only problems which interest him are those which arise, not out of man's relation to man, but out of man's relation to God.

Thus the Hairy Ape is a man who, however brutalized, remains a man until he loses his sense of "belonging," and thereby inevitably becomes an animal; old Ephraim in *Desire Under the Elms* is a man who pays the penalty (and achieves the stature) of those who identify themselves with God; Nina in *Strange Interlude* is a woman who pays the opposite penalty, and shrinks into futile insignificance because, with so many moderns, she can find nothing to belong to, nothing to justify for her the irrational element in human life, except that last attenuation of God which is now

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known as "the complex." Like the great tragic writers of the past, O'Neill is concerned with those "sorrows of our proud and angry dust" which "are from eternity and shall not fail." Most modern playwrights, like most modern sociologists and moralists, assume, consciously or unconsciously, that there are no problems except those of the relation of man to man, and that our sorrows are radically remediable. They are, to put it somewhat differently, concerned with problems properly so called, while O'Neill, like most great tragic dramatists, is concerned with dilemmas.

This fact, in itself, has made it difficult for many readers and many spectators either to understand what he is talking about, or, having understood it, to find it interesting or important. They have assumed that a contemporary dramatist must of necessity have put behind him any concern with genuinely tragic themes, and they have complained that O'Neill presented no intelligible political or sociological thesis. To them, his violent stories have seemed merely melodramatic, and the tendency of his plots to deal with such subjects as incest, murder and the subterranean rebellion of son against father, has seemed merely grotesque. Such themes, they say, may have meant something to Greeks and to Elizabethans, but they are outside the experience of the sensible modern world, whose citizens, living in a tamer universe, are interested only in such rational problems as those posed by race prejudice, power politics, or the prevalence of divorce. What's Hecuba to us or we to Hecuba?

But the central assumption of O'Neill's plays has always been that the tameness and rationality of modern life are an illusion — that man is as much concerned as he ever was with the problem of his relation to God, and as much as ever the victim of the darkest and most violent passions. Indeed, the failure of man's rational and conscious philosophy to acknowledge these facts makes the burden of bearing the sorrows of his proud and angry dust more nearly intolerable than it ever was before, and increases the need for tragic expression at the same time that it makes it more difficult. What neither philosophy nor religion any longer recognizes, becomes more than ever the proper subject of poetry and drama. Indeed, the most general possible statement of the

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intention of O'Neill's plays will be achieved if we say that they aim to bring back to the conscious recognition of the audience the fact that modern life and modern thinking have merely submerged, not obliterated, primitive passions and primitive needs.

O'Neill is certainly not an important political or social thinker. Indeed, at least for the sake of argument, it might be admitted that there is also nothing particularly original in what he has said concerning the failure of the most characteristic modern world views to take any account of the spiritual needs which may be only vestigial survivals but which do, nevertheless, survive to trouble us. But with the exception of Maxwell Anderson, whose methods are very different and whose characteristic virtues and limitations are both curiously opposite to O'Neill's, he is the only American playwright who has persistently attempted to make tragedy bridge the gulf between what we consciously acknowledge about ourselves, and that world of feeling which continues a subterranean existence.

No further discussion of his achievement can be possible unless some agreement has been reached concerning the legitimacy of his general intention. If the modern drama ought to confine itself to the rational consideration of rational problems, if its premises should be the acknowledged premises of our everyday life, and its stories typical social instances, then O'Neill is merely an unsuccessful anachronism. If, on the other hand, the validity of his intention be accepted, there still remains the question of his equipment and the degree to which he has succeeded in using it. No playwright ever undertook a more ambitious task. If he had succeeded fully, he would challenge comparison, not with Ibsen or Shaw, but with Aeschylus and Shakespeare. And since the most enthusiastic of his admirers does not suppose that *Strange Interlude* or *Mourning Becomes Electra* is actually the equal of the Agamemnon trilogy or of *King Lear*, neither can be called wholly successful. But if they succeed at all in the modern theater, they are unique for the simple reason that they are trying to do something which the contemporary dramatist gave up attempting when he accepted Ibsen's professed conviction that the "gulf" which opened sometime in the nineteenth cen-

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tury between ancient and modern man cut the latter off from any real concern with the aims and themes of the older dramatic literature.

In the pursuit of his aims, O'Neill has labored persistently under two major handicaps — one of which has affected chiefly his success in the commercial theater, while the other has limited severely the artistic effectiveness of his expression. The first of these limitations is his involuntary or deliberate failure to achieve that superficial expertness, that merely mechanical dexterity and neatness, which counts for so much on Broadway. In certain senses of the term, he is not even a good writer. He has never learned, perhaps never cared to learn, the disarming ingenuity and lightness which enable many successful playwrights to make even a foolish story seem diverting. As I have said on a previous occasion, and would like here to repeat, he is, for a man endowed with genius or something very much like it, singularly devoid of that mere talent which some of the greatest geniuses, Shakespeare for example, have possessed as a secondary gift. A dozen contemporary playwrights can write plays sparkling with various minor ingenuities and charms which his never remotely suggest.

This is, however, not the only or the most serious of his defects, and it must be frankly admitted that he not only lacks the poet's gift for splendid utterance, but falls so far short of it that even as prose his dialogue is often clumsy and repetitious — so far from being the best words in the best order, that it is often not even good words in a good order. Indeed, his predicament suggests that of one of those heroes of legend upon whom the fairies bestowed many good gifts, but withheld the one without which the others must forever remain deprived of much of their value. Some years ago, Mr. Lee Simonson, in his book *The Stage is Set*, rewrote two of Hamlet's soliloquies in O'Neillese, and the parody, composed by an admirer, is by far the most damning criticism ever made of his work.

Some have maintained that to admit this is to admit everything. Poetry, they say, is the *sine qua non* of tragedy: without it, nothing except melodrama is possible. But that is not true, because if it were then there would be no integral relation between

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the two — tragedy would be merely melodrama decorated with fine talk — and Aristotle's contention that the fable is the soul of drama would be nonsense. A tragedy is, first of all, a drama in the course of whose telling the highest possible poetic expression comes to be appropriate, and the lack of such expression is so strongly felt in the best of O'Neill's plays for the very reason that it would not be out of place. Most modern drama is in prose, not merely because its creators did not have the gift of poetic expression, but because the whole conception is prosaic. We do not wish that *Ghosts* or *Major Barbara* were in verse, but we do wish that the author of *Desire Under the Elms* or *Mourning Becomes Electra* could find the words which would not be out of place and, for which, indeed, we find ourselves longing almost with exasperation. Hence, to say that O'Neill fails as a poet is not by any means to say the most important thing — which is, on the contrary, that, almost alone among modern playwrights, he has conceived dramas to which poetry would be appropriate.

On more than one occasion O'Neill has singled out Strindberg as the modern writer by whom he was most influenced, and it is easy enough to see why and how this is true. But it is also an open question whether or not the influence has always been for the best. Strindbergian nihilism — with its insistence that existence is merely painful, and that from human life no conclusion is to be drawn except that "men are pitiable creatures" — is, in some respects, the very antithesis of the tragic spirit. For the tragic spirit is always sustained by the conviction that to be a man is a terrible privilege, but a privilege nevertheless. O'Neill has always tended to vacillate between the two convictions — or, as it would perhaps be more accurate to say, has always tended to write plays in which the inward tension is generated by the effort to assert a tragic faith despite the temptation to relax into mere nihilism. Both *The Ice Man Cometh* and the reports which have been published concerning a new play which New York has not yet seen, seem to suggest that the tension has relaxed somewhat, and that these plays come dangerously close not only to misanthropy but to mere despair. Some spectators complained that too little seems to happen in *The Ice Man Cometh*. But what

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that complaint really means is not so much that events do not occur, as simply that dramatic tension is to some extent absent from a tale, in the course of whose telling too little resistance is made against the foregone conclusion that life is without meaning.

Yet there is no escaping the fact that in this play also, O'Neill's somber power continues to assert itself and cannot be dismissed. What distinguishes him is not skill, and not primarily intellect, but a depth of passionate sincerity, an intensity of emotional conviction almost monumentally impressive. And to the fact that he does, in spite of everything, manage to convey his sense of something grand in man's predicament, the grumbling presence in the theater of even his detractors pays its tribute. Indeed, the test of time is already beginning to operate, and to demonstrate that he is a phenomenon which no amount of unfavorable criticism can dismiss. For more than thirty years, he has continued to command audiences for plays which make few concessions to popular taste, and none at all to the ordinary demands of Broadway. Comparatively few lay spectators would say that he provides them with that entertainment which they think they want, comparatively few serious critics that his plays are examples of their conception of what a modern play should be. Yet no living playwright except Bernard Shaw would dare make upon the spectator such a demand as O'Neill makes when he asks him to come to the theater at five-thirty in the afternoon, and to sit through four hours of somber talk. Nevertheless, even the grumblers attend what amounts to a command performance, because he has succeeded in imposing himself; and the fact that he somehow exists is the fact which even his detractors find themselves unable to deny. Eccentricity and pretentiousness often enough achieve this kind of success for a short time. But to have maintained it for three decades is to begin to rise above the point where mere opinion can have much force. Doubtless O'Neill's reputation will continue to be the subject of dispute, but it certainly cannot be dismissed outright.

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Palestine and American Immigration

Eugene V. Rostow

ON AUGUST 16, 1946, and at intervals since that date, President Truman has held out the first hope in many years for a peaceful and constructive solution of the tragedy in Palestine. Whatever the other shortcomings of his statement, he promised to request legislation authorizing a considerable number of Europe's displaced persons, including Jews, to enter the United States as immigrants. At this writing (May 6, 1947) there has been no direct action to carry out the President's pledge, although preparatory arrangements are being slowly made. If the President promptly asks for authority to bring in at least 400,000 refugees, and if he is supported in his purpose, the United States will have taken the indispensable step toward solving the agony of Palestine. For cooperation in Palestine will become possible for the first time when Palestine ceases to be the only goal of the displaced Jews of Eastern Europe.

The British, in exasperation, have now referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations. That step complicates but does not alter the substance of a controversy which had already become one of the thorniest issues of world politics.

How the present collision came about is not of primary importance. There is blame to be shared by all the participants, British, Zionist, Arab and American. At this point the great need is for a solution, not a verdict. The United States has a vital stake in

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facilitating the peaceful and orderly political evolution of the Middle East. We must see the Palestine question well solved if we hope to escape a new chapter of misery for the Jews, and serious and far-reaching division between the United States and its chief ally.

For the Jewish National Home in Palestine is in deadly peril. Zionism has become a fighting symbol to the awakened nationalism of the Arab, and indeed of the entire Mohammedan world. The vast hemisphere of Moslem influence, stretching from Indonesia to Morocco, is one of the vital theaters in the contest for world power between the Soviet Union and the Western states. That contest gives shape and meaning to every issue on the agenda of world politics. It is the ultimate component of the tragedy in Palestine. A harmonious and cooperative resolution of the conflict in Palestine should help to prevent a great shift in the balance of world power — a shift which could easily become a major threat to the security of the United States.

For forty years or more, American opinion has been pro-Zionist. The American public has supported the romance and idealism of the Zionist dream, as it has sympathized with the endless suffering of the East European Jews. Without fully grasping the desire of the Zionists to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, Americans have backed the Zionist program of colonization in Palestine, both for its own sake, and in recent years as a practical way to help some of Hitler's victims in Europe.

American backing for the work of the Jews in Palestine has been crucial to its success, both politically and financially. Gradually the Jewish community in Palestine has gained in strength, numbers and creative achievement. Today it constitutes a society of over 600,000 people, with a vigorous agriculture, an important industry, towns, cities and cultural institutions of impressive vitality.

The momentum of immigration into Palestine has been accelerated by Hitlerism and by the war. The Jews of Eastern Europe long to flee the scene of their torment. Many possess the Jews' ancient sense of Palestine as the promised land. Others are sick to death of living with anti-Semitism, and naturally look to

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Palestine as a Jewish society, free of such diseases. Whatever the reasons, more Jews than ever before are seeking admittance to Palestine, with a determination and energy that are hard to resist.

Several elements of the situation are fixed. The Jewish National Home in Palestine is a dynamic reality, not a dream. It cannot be dispersed, or materially weakened, without the catastrophe of a major war. The healthy society of Palestinian Jewry lives, produces and will grow. At this time no one, except perhaps the Mufti of Jerusalem, contemplates a policy which can threaten it.

The Jewish National Home exists, however, in an Arab world. The Arab population of Palestine is growing more than twice as fast as the Jewish population. It will grow faster than any rate of increase the Jews can achieve, by births or by any feasible program of immigration. The more Palestine is industrialized, the faster the Arab population will grow. Such has been the population experience of Morocco, Egypt, India and every other area of the world where modern colonial improvements have been introduced. It is extremely difficult to foresee a lasting Jewish majority in Palestine, or anything approaching it.

A third fixed element in the Palestine problem is the dangerous emotional temperature of the participants. Zionism has always been an issue on which people have disagreed passionately. At this point, their disagreement is explosive. The atmosphere is violent and warlike, and the influence of moderate leadership on all sides is weakening. Every shade of British opinion is turning against the Zionist cause. Leaders of the Labor Party are discovering that it is easier to pass Zionist resolutions as His Majesty's Opposition, than to achieve Zionist policy as the party in power. The wanton murder of British officials and soldiers has had a far-reaching effect, and the letters home of British troops on the spot are creating eddies of strongly anti-Zionist opinion. The Zionists in their turn are becoming as fanatically anti-British as Col. McCormick. No lie about the British is too fantastic to be believed. Most Zionists, and many other people, think that the anti-Zionism of the Mohammedan world is the creation of diaboli-

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cal British policy. The British, they devoutly believe, invented the Arab League in order to divide and rule the Arabs and the Jews.

This is a convenient myth, which can only be accepted by those who do not wish to face the facts. For Arab nationalism is one of the biggest and most uncomfortable facts in the Palestine problem. Arab nationalism is as real, and as dangerous to British interests, as the nationalism of the Indians and the Javanese. The British have "supported" the one as much as the others — because they have had no choice but to accommodate themselves to the new forces in the politics of empire. Arab nationalism has grown slowly but steadily, fed by many influences. The American missionary colleges in the Middle East have made an important cultural contribution. The repressions of the Turks, and the general strength of the idea of nationalism in the modern world, have all added to the strength of Pan-Arabism. The fact is that so long as Palestine is the exclusive focus of Jewish immigration, the Arab world will react seriously, stubbornly and with genuine passion.

For some years the political energies of the world's Jewish communities have been concentrated on opening the doors of Palestine to the homeless Jews of Eastern Europe. In part this policy has been adopted because the Jewish communities have allowed themselves to be represented mainly by zealous Zionists. In part the Jews have taken this position because they have preferred to support immigration into Palestine, rather than immigration at home, out of a weak but natural fear of strengthening local anti-Semitic forces. In part, they have concentrated on Palestine because the miserable failure of all past efforts of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, from Evian to Bermuda, has convinced them that the British and American governments were shadow boxing with the real issues, and had no intention of doing anything substantial to help the victims of Hitler and his imitators in Europe.

Yet the starting point for a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem is a change in the immigration policy of the United States. It would be preferable if the United Nations adopted the

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policy of accepting refugees by agreement, and at the same time. And if we were willing to break the circle of paralysis which has survived on this issue from the period of our weakness in the thirties, other nations would follow our lead. The important thing is to make a substantial beginning, alone or in agreement. In any event, the numbers of people involved are pitifully small, and well within the absorptive power of the United States alone. There may be one million displaced persons in all in Europe, of whom about one-fifth are Jews. Early in the century, the United States took in more immigrants every year than the present whole body of displaced persons in Europe.

If it became clear that Palestine was not the only country in the world where the Jews of Eastern Europe could go, the political and constitutional problem of Palestine itself should automatically become soluble. What the Arabs are fighting is not the Jewish National Home, but the extreme Zionist goal of Palestine as a Jewish national state. The element of the present conflict which has produced the impasse is the Arabs' specter of being swamped by the sudden arrival of half a million European Jews. With that threat removed, it would not be unrealistic to hope that Palestine could achieve a democratic political organization by agreement of the parties, either independently, or under a renewed mandate from the United Nations.

Perhaps the parties would accept the bi-national state proposed by Dr. Judah Magnes, Rector of the Hebrew University in Palestine. Dr. Magnes is one of the best balanced and most penetrating Jewish spokesmen in Palestine. He has urged the formation of a state which would be neither Jewish nor Arab, but a democratic community in which all citizens of Palestine, whatever their religion or race, would be equal and free. His ideas are the best possible principles for a durable political system in Palestine.

Dr. Magnes, however, has received little attention of late, in a political landscape dominated by the bombs of terrorists and the rough hand of martial law. Removal of the factors which have led to the present atmosphere of warfare should make reasonable compromise once more a possibility. If, however, the scars of

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recent experience are too sharp and deep, a plan for partitioning Palestine into a federation of autonomous provinces or cantons has more to recommend it than one would expect from the angry reception it has so far received. Political autonomy under partition would mean for the Jews unlimited immigration into the areas of Palestine which have until now proved the most promising centers of Jewish population and effort. It would mean the end of military rule, and an opportunity for democratic self-government which has hitherto been largely denied in Palestine. It does not mean that no Jews could live in the Arab province. Every Mohammedan country in the world has strong and well-established communities of Jews, and the central administration of Palestine should have power to assure full protection to the Jews in the Arab province, and to the Arabs in the Jewish province.

The policy of the United States toward Palestine must be governed by the security interests of the United States. We must support a policy which should minimize the risks of conflict, and facilitate orderly and peaceful political development in the Middle East. To impose a Jewish state in Palestine would require extreme measures of imperial coercion. They would be resisted in the Middle East, and denounced by world opinion. The American public would never support the necessary program of repression and policing, especially if American troops were involved. We should support a strong Jewish National Home, within a democratic Palestine, and see to it by substantial international guarantees that the Jewish National Home has every opportunity to grow and flourish. But the only kind of Jewish national state in Palestine which can safely be envisioned at this time is the partial one created by partition.

The constitutional problem in Palestine is important, and must be solved. It cannot be solved so long as Palestine is the only substantial haven for European Jewish refugees. The most constructive contribution which America can make to the Palestine problem is to enlarge the number of free communities to which the homeless Jews of Europe can emigrate, and to start by receiving them freely into the United States.

It may not be too late to revive the promising British plan of

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1904, for mass Jewish colonization, under appropriate political guarantees, in the rich and temperate areas of Central East Africa. Comparable plans, if sufficiently bold and energetic, could be drawn for abandoned areas of Germany, or for parts of the agricultural littoral of the Mediterranean, perhaps in Tripoli. If the French wish to assert the moral leadership they have claimed, they could not find a more striking way to do it than to offer a constructive alternative for Palestine within the French Union.

The difficulty, however, with all such plans, from the forlorn Soviet colony of Biro-Bidjan in remote Siberia to the Dominican Resettlement area, is that they do not have behind them the deep, semi-religious drive which surrounds the idea of Palestine. Pioneering is hard, unrewarding work. The ancient vision of Palestine is one of those powerful concepts which strikes fire even in the heart of the modern European Jew.

It would be far simpler and more practical to deal with the problem by opening the world once more, as it was opened in the nineteenth century, to a greater degree of freedom of immigration, based on voluntary choice.

All that stands in the way is a persistent residue of Hitler's racism. It is time, and long since, to acknowledge one of Hitler's greatest victories, which threatens to become perhaps more durable than any other consequence of his momentous career. Twenty years of Hitler's campaigning have infected the world with a curious paralysis. He has strengthened the forces of tribalism everywhere to such an extent that the countries of western enlightenment themselves are afraid of Jewish immigration. They hesitate to oppose the proposition that there is something special about the Jews, and something wrong with them. No government leader, not even President Roosevelt, has had the moral courage to say, "We want the Jews." The British government has offered British refuge to the Polish soldiers who fought the war in the west, and now fear to return to Poland. No one has done as much for the European Jews who sustained the greatest casualties of all in the war against Hitler. Recent Jewish refugees from Europe played a vital role in the development of the atomic bomb, and, like their predecessors, have earned an honorable place in many

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areas of our national life. But we are still afraid of Hitler, afraid of some nameless terror which may set in if we have more Jews, afraid that more Jewish immigrants will stimulate anti-Semitism, or strengthen Klannism in American life.

Neither anti-Semitism nor fascism are created by the Jews. Further Jewish immigration would have nothing to do with the possibility of a fascist development in the United States. Fascism is produced in ripe soil by skillful agents. The Jewish population of Germany was less than 1 per cent, but it served Hitler's purpose, as German society disintegrated under the pressure of war, inflation and depression. Our Jewish population of about 3 per cent is quite large enough already to provide a tool for our native fascists. As a matter of fact, a small minority is a safer target for fascist exploitation than a larger one, as the Americans of Japanese descent discovered to their sorrow during the war. The larger the minority, the more effectively it can claim political protection through its voting power. There is no intrinsic reason to appease, and therefore to strengthen, our native fascists by hesitating to accept refugees as immigrants.

An enlarged volume of immigration would be sound national policy for many other reasons. The era of Hitler was the first period of despotism for three hundred years in which the victims of persecution could not start life over in America. The reactionary immigration statutes of the twenties were a repudiation of American history. They betrayed the responsibilities of Congress as the trustee of the national tradition.

Fear of the melting pot was a generally felt justification for our changes in immigration policy during the twenties. The experience of national unity in two wars should give us confidence in the absorptive power of American culture. We have had in wartime the most tangible proof of the fact that immigrants and the sons of immigrants, whether their origin was Japanese, Italian or German, become Americans when they grow up and live in America.

The immigration laws of the Harding era constituted a revolutionary change in economic as well as in social policy. It is more difficult for a country of stable or declining population to achieve

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a dynamic economic policy. Economic growth would be far easier to manage in the United States if our population were increased by the steady arrival of young, working immigrants. An increase in immigration would increase our chances of success in maintaining high levels of production and employment. The need for immigration is becoming steadily more acute, as the birth rate declines, and the proportion of people over sixty in our society rises towards 15 per cent. Our present immigration laws were put through largely by the pressure of the most backward of our trade union leaders. They represent the most damaging and restrictive aspect of trade union policy. Narrowly protectionist, these laws are an attempt to keep wages up by limiting the size of the labor force. Like all such policies, the immigration laws impose a heavy and cumulative tax on the community as a whole, without producing any compensatory good.

The conviction that we have too many people to be employed at fair wages was put forward as a reason for restricting immigration into the United States as early as 1797. The argument should be recognized for what it is: dangerous nonsense. If, by means of monetary and investment policy, we continue to keep the level of national income high, we shall rediscover the simple fact that our basic economic resource is people, and that in an industrialized country, a larger population can produce a larger and more interesting national product.

It would not be difficult to solve the immediate problem of the refugees in Europe without tackling a basic change in our immigration laws. President Truman made a start more than six months ago by ordering the handling of immigration visas in Europe to be expedited. But his orders have not been carried out. The State Department has been very slow in using up its present immigration quotas. Less than one-fourth of those who could have been rescued from European camps have been brought to the United States, within the present limits of the quota system. By the end of this year, however, American quotas will probably be stretched to the point of exhaustion. The emergency could be met under present statutes, by a special act, authorizing the use for displaced persons of some of the quotas which were

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unused during the depression and the war years. If such legislation were backed with energy by the public at large, and by the groups most directly interested — societies with Polish and Baltic affiliations, and by Catholic and Jewish welfare agencies — responsible political observers believe it would probably pass. Many important organizations of opinion, including both the great federations of labor, have endorsed a policy of allowing displaced persons to enter the United States. It remains to act.

There is an aspect of the problem which goes beyond simple decency, self-interest and the complicated politics of Europe and the Middle East. How we manage the crisis over Palestine will be a touchstone of our foreign policy as a whole, and of its success in winning the support of world opinion.

The balance of world power is going through one of its climacterics. Germany and Italy have been crushed by the war, and France greatly weakened. Britain, tired of imperial burdens, is fulfilling the pledges of Gladstonian liberalism. Self-government and independence, fostered by generations of British administrators, are now rapidly supplanting British colonial rule. After centuries of power, the British seem to be turning to other interests. The United States, concerned lest competing great powers step in as Britain withdraws, is moving forward vigoriously to take on the mantle of leadership in world affairs.

What will the complexion of American foreign policy be? Will we offer Europe and Asia a democratic and dynamic program of progress, or one of repression and reaction? In the last two years, the United States has supported many forward-looking policies of great promise — in the field of atomic energy, trade and finance, and in many of the programs of the United Nations. On the other hand, we have also stood abroad for much that is evil — Franco, Chiang, the Greek Royalists and the government of the Philippines. We backed the wrong horses in Italy, and we are pursuing a course which seems certain to restore a strong nationalist Germany, dedicated heart and soul to a policy of stirring up trouble between East and West.

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Our handling of the Palestine problem can be a test of the orientation of American policy. We cannot hope to win the war of ideologies in which we are engaged by identifying the United States with corrupt and stagnant governments, embracing all the worst elements of the old order. In Palestine we face a challenge which goes to the root of our moral and political purposes. We must see humane justice done to the Jews, and assure the Arabs the political rights which are their due. Above all, we must contribute to an equitable solution in Palestine by opening our own doors to people we deem worthy of haven elsewhere.

Professor Philip Marsh has asked us to print the following correction in his article, "Jefferson and Freneau," which appeared in the Spring Number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR:

Page 205, line 18: For "purvey news articles by Madison . . . and his . . ." read: "purvey news, articles by Madison or other party men, and his . . ."

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Woman in the Lap of Death

A Woodcut by Käthe Kollwitz

Marcia Lee Anderson

She sleeps, now, like a child; she has forgotten.
Only the bones remember, now, within —
Sharp, silent bones, tight still
Under the skin.

His hand supports exhaustion like a cradle;
Grief is defended in his dark stare;
These enormous tender angles make
Room for despair.

◎ MARCIA LEE ANDERSON is assistant professor of English at Hollins College, Virginia. Her poems have appeared in the *Washington Post*, the *Lyric* and the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

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Freud and Marx at UNESCO

James Marshall

IN ODESSA in the late twenties I saw a play one night which revolved around the problem of the adjustment of a young couple to married life, the service of their factory and their communist society. The climax of the drama, the high point in the plot, and the theme were to be found in the exclamation of the heroine: "We shall see whether Freud or Marx was right." The synthesis disclosed Marx to be right; the great satisfactions of marriage were to be discovered, not in the bourgeois pattern of the connubial bliss of homemaker and provider, but in leadership in the factory and in the communist order.

This theme recurred to me at the recent General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization held in Paris in November, when at one of the opening sessions M. Vladislav Ribnikar, the delegate from Yugoslavia, presented the reaction of his government, and presumably that of the Soviet Union, to UNESCO. M. Ribnikar first quoted those phrases of the UNESCO Constitution which state "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed" and "that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war."

As to these provisions, M. Ribnikar stated: "I feel certain that any man acquainted with the study of history and who has understood the origins of the war which has just ended, will agree that such arbitrary conclusions show a lack of a material and

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scientific knowledge, that they give an inaccurate picture of the causes which, in the history of mankind, have provoked wars between nations, and that it is impossible with such principles to remove effectively the causes of war."

It was because of such principles, he said, that the Yugoslav Government had been prevented from proposing the ratification of the UNESCO Constitution to their Parliament. In the view of M. Ribnikar, the philosophy of UNESCO "entirely rejects materialistic philosophy and questions the scientific character of dialectical materialism." Such a philosophy, if maintained, "would lead to the enslavement of thought and of the spirit of creation and would form an arbitrary obstacle to the spread of culture. . . . If materialistic thought were to be banned, it would amount to the suppression in England of a marvelous philosophic and scientific inheritance, to the suppression in France of its greatest age of philosophy and to holding up the creative advance of younger peoples. This would deprive science of the methods by which it has become science, and in the last instance, would amount to subjecting science to metaphysics."

So here again one is presented with the issue of Marx against Freud — at least in the sense that the worshiper of economic determinism rejected the doctrine that suspicion, mistrust, psychological attitudes, the mind slants of men, are decisive factors in the matter of war and peace. Perhaps this only presents to us the old problem of the balance between those things which are subjective or psychological and those things which are external or material. How much of conflict, how much of aggression, can be solved or resolved by attention to the minds of men and to their emotional relations to one another? How much can be settled purely as a matter of economic or material adjustment?

It is to be hoped — some persons in authority even expect — that Yugoslavia and Russia will join Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other nations of the world in UNESCO. This will not, however, eliminate the cultural cleavage, the ideological conflict. The exponent of Marxism in Paris, 1946, assures us that the defenses of peace cannot be constructed in the minds of men because to assume that wars are made in men's minds is an "arbitrary con-

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clusion," a lack or rejection of "material and scientific knowledge." But it is apparent to us that the solution of economic inequality and the problems of want and mal-distribution will not dispose of those forms of aggression arising out of the emotional patterns created in the family circle. Freud pointed this out:

> By abolishing private property one deprives the human love of aggression of one of its instruments, a strong one undoubtedly, but assuredly not the strongest. It in no way alters the individual differences in power and influence which are turned by aggressiveness to its own use, nor does it change the nature of the instinct in any way. This instinct did not arise as the result of property; it reigned almost supreme in primitive times when possessions were still extremely scanty; it shows itself already in the nursery when possessions have hardly grown out of their original anal shape; it is at the bottom of all the relations of affection and love between human beings — possibly with the single exception of that of a mother to her male child.

Eliminating the Freudian erotic idiom, we can put the matter this way: For all their opportunities for economic satisfaction and social equality under a well-functioning socialist state, children would still suffer from maternal abandonment, parental indifference or brutality, from a sense of frustration in relationships with parents, brothers and sisters. In other words, the seeds of delinquency and bigotry and aggression would still be sown. It is only then as educational forces, both formal and informal, are adapted to meeting such problems that the task of constructing the defenses of peace can be completed. The lessons to be learned from love in the home and the experience of affectionate understanding from teachers and mutual respect from schoolmates will be the primary defenses of peace which society can construct. The doctrinaire Marxian point of view is dangerous in so far as it ignores these psychological elements. Like all doctrinaire pronouncements, it tends to grow further from reality as time progresses.

Unquestionably the Marxian philosophy aims to achieve a happy and united world, a world free of hatred and domination. But the realization of such a world is postponed until mankind has

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passed through the doom of that autocratic domination euphemistically called the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the Marxian, men must first be conditioned to the hatred implicit in the class struggle, with its purges and destruction not just of property rights and of property, but of capitalists, bourgeoisie and kulaks too. The very dialectic of the Marxists, with its inevitable struggle between thesis and antithesis, the "science" which proclaims that progress can only be achieved by the destruction of one social order in conflict with another, is a formula for antagonism and a rationalization to justify, if not to induce, aggression. If one believes the only way to achieve the dialectical synthesis, the attainment of the happy and united world, is to go through the bloody struggle of class conquest, then obviously the achievement of social equality and collaboration by repressing aggressive drives or harnessing them to constructive purposes must appear to be "arbitrary conclusions" and to present an "inaccurate picture." If all science, as all history, must be fitted into the framework of dialectical materialism, of thesis and antithesis, of the opposition of social forces, then indeed science would no more be science if it was found to spread beyond those bounds.

Nevertheless the issue is not and cannot be one of Freud *against* Marx. It is not and cannot be one of mind and emotion and spirit against dialectical materialism. A psychology (or a philosophy) blind to the economic needs of man, and an economics which ignores primary psychological patterns, are alike trivial. They must fail to realize their purposes because they build upon a fictional man and make of him a mere totem of their respective cults.

We know a great deal today about how the emotions of children can be canalized, and how the behavior of young people can be conditioned for cooperative living or for aggression. Nevertheless, it is becoming more and more apparent that to produce such a civilized education certain primitive economic needs of civilized man must first be satisfied. Anyone who has visited Germany and Japan in the months since the war ended understands this. When children come breakfastless to school, sometimes literally crying with hunger — as many thousands do in Germany today; when

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they come to school in mid-winter in cracked shoes or slippers, or without any shoes at all — as they do in Germany and Japan today; when teachers and students alike must sit in classrooms buttoned up in their coats, and in extremely cold weather with their white breath apparent — it is idle to speak of education addressed to the development of the intellect or the constructive canalization of aggressive drives. The whole basis of life, emotional and intellectual, centers around food and clothing, fuel and housing. The material things, the material minima, are all-absorbing. There can be no such thing as education of the mind and the emotions without some bedrock of material stability.

While the cases of Germany and Japan — and for that matter of Eastern Europe as a whole — are perhaps more dramatic, nevertheless the instability of life must also prevent a full realization of proposed educational reforms in such nations as France. The teachers themselves cannot be expected to adjust their minds and habits to new techniques, to new approaches, to the development of new attitudes in a social situation which is all uncertainty. And France, from its black market restaurants in the region of the Madeleine and the Champs Elysées and its black market shops in the Faubourg St. Honoré, to its great industrial plants operated by Communist-dominated unions, is uncertain of its political, industrial and cultural future. But beyond all this, it is uncertain of its food, clothing, fuel and all the little things that have been part of the lives of Frenchmen.

If M. Ribnikar had said that the defenses of peace cannot *only* be constructed in the minds of men, he would have been correct. One need not accept the correctness of dialectical materialism to concede that the pangs of want affect the stability of peace. They arouse anxieties which deprive the sufferers both of the power of reason and the capacity to understand and have sympathy for others. But when M. Ribnikar went one step further and denied that it was in the minds of men that wars were made, he raised an issue which anyone who works in the realm of education and psychology in the Western world must contest.

Possibly, if what we have learned in America in the field of dynamic psychology were better known throughout the world,

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the flexible definitions of the Marxist might be further strained sufficiently to include some of that knowledge. Since the work of Pavlov, no Communist would doubt the truth of the discoveries with reference to conditioned reflexes. In fact, the evidence is that Russian education today is founded on an acceptance of those principles. We too know that training in the early years of childhood — the habits, the practices, the patterns of thought and action in accordance with which children are developed — condition them through life, and determine in large manner the orderliness of their minds and habits and their social adjustability and conduct.

And we know how close is the relationship between healthy family life and social development, between parent and child relationships and successful growth to maturity. We know too that many children suffer from emotional insecurity when their homes have been frequently transplanted, when they have no roots in land or love. And knowing this, we cannot ignore the issue of the minds and emotions of men. We cannot close our eyes to the part that these play in fostering aggression or sociality; but we would indeed be blind if we did not recognize that the very transplanting of families and the instability of family life have a decided relationship to material things and institutions, to bread and coal and cloth and bricks, to governments, to national wealth, to trade and communication.

This matter of communication has a definite relevancy to the whole problem which is being discussed. One of the most urgent needs on the agenda of UNESCO has been that of creating what Anne O'Hare McCormick has called "a frontierless world of the mind." Perhaps we Americans have been too prone to assume that this was a matter which could be treated on the basis of intellectual understanding and political agreement. Let us exchange ideas, we say; let us make treaties permitting the free flow of news and motion pictures, and the frontiers of the mind must automatically be opened. The history of the world suggests that the Marxists may have a valid argument to the contrary, or at least in modification of our viewpoint.

For history has indicated that the spread of cultural ideas has

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been along the arteries of trade. The doctrines of the early Egyptians and Sumerians and Greeks, their ideas of art and life, of the gods and the hereafter, followed the trail left by their traders. Shards of pottery and inscriptions chiseled in stone, the bones of ships and camels, and finds of semi-precious stones, are signs of frontiers that were opened to the mind. So perhaps we too today, if we wish to achieve "a frontierless world of the mind," must first look to lower barriers at those points where commerce too can find entrance. Possibly we shall not be able to exchange ideas and open by treaties the interflow of news and motion pictures until the world commences again to trade — one part with another without blocked currencies and quotas — as it did before 1914.

Toward the conclusion of the UNESCO Conference, M. Ribnikar made a speech far more conciliatory toward UNESCO and its ideas; yet even in his conciliation he indicated one of the principal difficulties to the understanding by nations of each other in the world today. He said: "It sometimes happens, and it may happen in our case, that general agreement is easily reached on certain formulas, but that their implementation gives rise to differences of opinion. This may be due to the fact that some of the technical terms we use are not universally accepted." He illustrated the use of such words as "democracy," "freedom," "dignity of and respect for man," and "totalitarianism."

Of course if one desires only to befuddle and make propaganda, there is little value in studying the comparative use of language. If, however, parties act in good faith, it is not impossible that a study of language, and the way in which it is used, may bring about closer understanding and agreement. We must show to the world of the East that when we use such words as democracy and freedom, we are not smugly satisfied that we have achieved democracy and freedom; that when we speak of the dignity of man and respect for man, we realize that we do not in all regards exhibit a respect for man and regard for his dignity.

On the other hand, having given due weight to our own sense of the relativity of those terms, we must make it plain that there are certain practices in the lands of Eastern Europe and elsewhere which cannot possibly in our vocabulary or in any factual use of

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the words be deemed democratic — free or respectful of man and his dignity. This, however, presents to my mind only a limited way to achieve understanding. Understanding would depend in large measure on good will and good intentions.

UNESCO, in so far as it can keep free from becoming an instrument of power politics, can offer a forum for the honest expression of opinion, and can stimulate those who desire to collaborate with and understand others. It can create a fellowship for those who wish to lead the masses of the world across the frontierless sweeps of mind to commune with other men and women of different cultural, racial and spiritual backgrounds. UNESCO itself cannot bring understanding. It can only afford a mechanism for those who want fellowship and understanding. It can only be a place of exchange for those who have goods of the mind and spirit to give to one another and the willingness to make the exchange.

Nothing can more finally close frontiers than to range "Marx" *against* "Freud," to take a doctrinaire position which excludes as irrelevant either the psychological or economic streams of life. It is only as we realize that aggressive drives follow similar psychological patterns, irrespective of the verbiage and philosophies by which they are adorned or besmirched, that a beginning can be made on a universal foundation. It is only as we recognize that these aggressive drives can be redirected, that the words and the philosophies become important — and with them the myths and the assumptions of the various cultures. But before such redirection of the aggression within us can prove seriously effective, the most elemental physical needs must be in course of satisfaction. For men, women and children enforced to live in the spiritual vacuum of empty stomachs and the mental nakedness of shoeless feet and rubble homes cannot be expected to shed their primitive aggression or find ways to satisfaction in a civilization which to them offers only anxiety and want. This is as true of Russia as it is of Austria and China, as true of Germany and Japan as it is of Italy and Greece.

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With Sleep In Your Hair

Eve Triem

That southwest wind will seethe all night
Till water and flowers spill out of vases,
And the moon from an overturned sky.

Mill-sirens tell us it is dusk,
And we know it by the reek
Of half-burned oil and ditch-smells drifting;
And by the iron in the shoes
Of other evenings . . . that dragging step.

Oh come, midnight; come with sleep
In your hair like the oil of lemons;
Come, sleep, and the dumb mouth, and no image!

For angels and violent men have damned
Our world, our life, the second-hand,
The simulated moan of love,
The music on the rubber disc:

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Music like lilies cut from leather,
Like finches mocked by water-whistles;
Like trees of steel in tubs of plastic;
And boys in glass, and kisses on paper.

The discs are broken, the pieces, sprinkled
Over a towered Babel and Bedlam.
The pieces cut the lonely flesh
Of the men of tomorrow: the homeless,
Workless men of tomorrow; the lonely
Loveless, night-betrayed sleepless,
Haunted by atom-bomb worlds of tomorrow.

Southwest wind, O gale of sleep,
Home-held breath, oh blow us back
To where the flowers were white, and died.
Not leather, everlasting, but the scent
Of one night's stars that bloomed and died.

And wrench our houses from their roots,
Send them like boats upon a sea
Of music — not from discs — true strings,
The actual horns, the living voices.
Let the embrace be real, let the work
That waits on morning have some meaning.

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Historical

Eve Triem

The battle-names in stone, the fire-marred flags,
Will testify it was historical,
This time we live in, simple to our breathing
As a distant hill dug out of blue,
As the odor of noon in sun-spread hair.

It is the jump of light on working chimneys
Flowered and tasseled like apple trees and corn.
It is May, surprising us with white cathedrals:
Bells shake girls out of bed and into veils.

Scholars will say, "An age, heraldic with broken towns,
And counting by years of famine . . ." but we have it
As a listening to laughter under street lamps.
Boys forget the scorching guns they carried
To look at summer, and love begins, begins again.

© EVE TRIEM'S poems have appeared in *Poetry*, the *Yale Review*, the *New York Times* and THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Her first book of poems, *Parade of Doves*, was published last November.

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Vitamins At Work

Florence Moog

IN THE twenty-five years since vitamins first came to the attention of the American press, some notions about them have infiltrated into almost every literate mind. Few today are unaware of the benefits that are said to result from a liberal vitamin supply: millions seek the freshness of skin, the brightness of eye, the vigor of body, the clearness of mind that, so the advertisers insist, will come from the mere swallowing of one of these brown capsules or two of those pink pellets every day. Yet the disparity between the promised transmutations of the human person and the humble means by which they are said to be effected has not been overlooked by the skeptical. Even in the medical profession, there are those who share the view that vitamin pills are not much more than this sophisticated century's faith cure.

The basis of this hardheaded reserve is to be found in the fact that until recently there was no clear answer to the question: by what mechanisms do vitamins bring about the effects ascribed to them? Twenty years ago, only the most daring biologist would have ventured an opinion on this question. Today, although myriad details are still lacking, we can confidently outline the course of action which some of the vitamins pursue in the body.

Current interest in the biological action of vitamins may be called the third phase in the history of vitamin research. The first phase opened with Christian Eijkman's discovery, reported to the scientific world in 1897 from a station in the Netherlands East Indies, that a crippling nervous disorder, resembling the beriberi so common in the Orient, could be produced in chickens by

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feeding them polished rice, and then cured by feeding them the rice bran.

Although this discovery was in a way only a scientific confirmation of old empirical knowledge of the protective value of certain foods — the British Navy's use of limes to prevent scurvy is a classical example — it was not greeted with the greatest possible enthusiasm by a world which, having recently come to accept the fact that some diseases are caused by microörganisms, was determined to find a germ behind every disease; for science is not above fashion. But the ensuing years brought together an impressive list of reports showing that laboratory animals cannot be kept in good health by any combination of purified carbohydrates, proteins, fats and salts. Depending on the diet used and the degree of purification of the components, each such experiment produced some specific disorder which could be cured by some natural food. Then in 1911 the Polish chemist Casimir Funk prepared from rice polishings a beri-beri curative product which he christened "vitamine." The product was far less pure than Funk believed; nor was it a member, vital or otherwise, of the class of compounds called "amines." But vitamins had arrived, nonetheless.

Once it was established that many foods contain, in minuscule quantities, unidentified factors essential for the prevention of certain diseases, the nutritionists set out to expand and refine the knowledge of these factors. Soon overwhelming evidence linked specific factors with well-defined disorders — vitamin A with eye and skin disorders, vitamin C with scurvy, most recently vitamin K with hemorrhagic disease of newborn infants. Only a step or two behind, the chemists followed, heroically wrestling with bales of rice polishings, gallons of milk, tons of yeast, to produce a precious gram or so of pure vitamin.

In many cases, these purified preparations have been successfully used as patterns from which the chemists have learned to build vitamins synthetically, thus freeing physicians and researchers from dependence on the natural substances which contain vitamins in such inconveniently small quantities. The work is not finished yet. Although half a century has elapsed

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since Eijkman's findings were first announced, scarcely any year, even now, fails to see at least one report of a new obscure disease, produced in laboratory animals maintained on a diet complete in all known requirements, and relieved by some still unknown factor in a natural food.

But the study of the gross lesions that follow complete vitamin deficiency is the simpler aspect of medical vitamin research. Skeptical physicians have repeatedly insisted that such studies are of limited practical implication in the United States, where radical deficiencies are thought to be uncommon — although recent clinical reports indicate that even beri-beri is not unknown in American cities. Whether moderate deficiencies may result in any disorders more real than those concocted in the ad men's ateliers is the more important, and more vexed, question. Barring a ready solution to this question are related difficulties: how much of a given vitamin is essential for health; how can the quantity of a given vitamin in an individual's diet or in his body be accurately determined; how may the effects of hypovitaminosis be precisely diagnosed? But the key to this system of puzzles is the problem of the intimate action of vitamins in the body. When it is known exactly where and how a vitamin does its work, then obviously a secure basis is provided for interpreting the effects of an insufficiency of the vitamin.

In the years when vitamin research was developing in apparent independence of other aspects of biochemistry, the study of enzymes was expanding vigorously. From the middle of the last century, it had been known that the alimentary tract produces minute quantities of catalytic substances — enzymes — that promote digestive processes which, if uncatalyzed, would go on so slowly that the body would die of starvation before a meal could be utilized. Early in this century fermentation was found to be a matter of enzymes contained in yeast cells; and gradually an immense amount of detailed work has made it clear that the great majority of chemical processes that go on within any living organism are under continuous enzymatic control. The oxidation of glucose to yield energy, for example, which the elementary textbooks still picture as being no more complicated than the

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burning of sugar over a flame, is now known to be a chain of events depending on the cooperation of at least fifteen known enzymes and probably more still unknown. The pyramiding of facts of this sort has recently led Cornell's distinguished enzyme chemist, James B. Sumner, to offer the opinion that every cell in the body contains a thousand different enzymes. In a sense, life itself is the oriented activity of enzymes.

Are vitamins related to enzymes, then? Fifteen years ago there was a sudden unplanned convergence of the "useless" basic research of the enzymologists and the "useful" applied research of the nutritionists, with the result that numerous obscure problems were literally clarified overnight. In 1932 the attention of biochemists was focused on Otto Warburg's "yellow enzyme," a substance which aids living tissue in taking up oxygen from blood (or air) and utilizing it in the energy-yielding breakdown of foodstuffs being "burned." A year later Richard Kuhn and his coworkers at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut isolated in pure form a growth-promoting vitamin sometimes called B_2. The isolate was yellow. It was in fact a part of the yellow enzyme. Today the single substance, the vitamin which functions as an enzyme in effecting vital oxidations, is known as riboflavin. Hooked onto different protein "carriers," riboflavin comprises an indispensable portion of at least ten essential enzymes, in addition to the classical yellow one.

The key thus fashioned was quickly tested in other locks. It fitted. In 1937 vitamin B_1 and another component of the B_2 complex took their places in the ranks of enzymes. A vast amount of data accumulated since points plainly to an enzymatic role for most, perhaps all, vitamins. Further identification of vitamins with enzymes will proceed as rapidly as we enlarge our limited acquaintance with the host of enzymes by which we live.

The vitamin whose action in the body we understand best is, appropriately, thiamine, the anti-beri-beri vitamin which Eijkman first postulated. Eijkman's original idea was that beri-beri is a state of intoxication resulting from the eating of large quantities of starch, and that the rice coating contains a counteractive substance. Although the Dutch scientist later accepted the view

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of others that the substance in the polishings had a more direct and positive effect, he was actually more right than he knew. During the past few decades we have learned, as mentioned before, that the energy-yielding breakdown of sugars and starches in the body is a stepwise process which sends the foodstuff molecule through a long series of transformations before expelling it finally as carbon dioxide and water. In one of the steps the carbohydrate molecule is converted to pyruvic acid. Normally a widely distributed enzyme called cocarboxylase effects the breakdown of pyruvic acid, so that the over-all process can continue. But cocarboxylase is really diphosphothiamine — thiamine combined with two molecules of phosphoric acid. When thiamine is deficient, not enough cocarboxylase can be produced, and the organism, helpless to rid itself of the continually increasing pyruvic acid, is slowly poisoned. Apparently nervous tissue is most sensitive to such poisoning, and so lack of the vitamin manifests itself first in nervous disorders.

The curing of a pigeon suffering from polyneuritis, as beri-beri is now called, is biochemistry at its most dramatic. The bird, polyneuritic from thiamine deprivation, is a pathetic sight — paralyzed, helpless, its head twisted painfully backward. A solution of thiamine is poured down the unresisting throat, and within minutes the head turns to its normal position. Later the bird begins to stagger about on its feet, and in less than a day is as bright and cheerful as a pigeon ought to be. Now we can explain this seeming miracle. The thiamine administered is absorbed from the intestine into the blood and swiftly carried to every part of the body. In the tissues, it is linked to phosphoric acid (an event that is itself under enzymatic control) and is then ready to attack the glut of pyruvic acid. A few hours suffice to reduce the accumulation to its normal level, and — provided the deprivation has not been continued too long — the victim is in the best of health.

Among the busiest of vitamins is nicotinic acid, best known in its role of pellagra preventer, which enters into the structure of coenzymes I and II. These coenzymes have the job of making an initial attack on foodstuff molecules which are slated for life-

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giving destruction in the body. They, or the nicotinic acid amide which is built into them, are found in all living cells — in animals, green plants, bacteria. Life is probably impossible without them. No less than eighteen substances are already known to be prepared for breakdown by the coenzymes, and all but one of these substances is related to the carbohydrates. When the methods by which living organisms handle fats and proteins are better understood, the coenzymes will most likely be found to have even more widespread importance.

It is ironical that as early as 1912 nicotinic acid had been isolated from yeast in the course of the search for the antipolyneuritic vitamin, while the existence of coenzyme I in yeast had been postulated even earlier. But science is not always ready to interpret its latest discoveries. Not until 1935, when many more data about the coenzymes had been gathered, did workers in Berlin and Stockholm succeed in isolating the coenzymes and finding nicotinic acid amide contained in them. This result turned attention to the nicotinic acid that had been neglected for more than twenty years; the cycle was completed when research carried on at Wisconsin's biochemical laboratory under the direction of C. A. Elvehjem proved that nicotinic acid would cure blacktongue, the canine analogue of pellagra. Soon afterward the substance was found to be effective against the human disorder.

Yet the relation between the dry, rough, "sharkskin" and disordered digestion of pellagrins on one hand, and coenzyme activity on the other, is not understood. Since pellagra is much more common on the maize-rich diet of the American South than on any other diet, it is possible that the disorder results directly from the improper metabolism of some component of corn when adequate amounts of nicotinic acid are lacking. Probably the prevention of pellagra is a minor role for nicotinic acid. Through its coenzyme offspring the vitamin is indispensable to life, and the maintenance of a high coenzyme level in the blood, brain and adrenal gland seems to be of especial importance. In addition, numerous tantalizing bits of evidence suggest that nicotinic acid enters into metabolism at many still unidentified points.

The intimate action of the riboflavin-containing enzymes is

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much like that of the nicotinic acid enzymes. The two coenzymes act by removing hydrogen atoms from the substrate molecules that they tackle. If they are to keep repeating this operation (for an enzyme molecule is used over and over again), they must be continually relieved of their burden of hydrogen. Removing these hydrogen atoms and handing them on toward ultimate union with oxygen is in many cases the job of the riboflavin enzymes. In addition, several riboflavin enzymes carry out independent assignments; one takes part in the production of uric acid, for example, and another aids in the chemical transformation of certain protein products in the body. Even the glow-worm depends on a riboflavin enzyme to help him shine his light.

Lack of riboflavin in man seems to affect the eyes first of all, resulting in painful sensitivity to light, bloodshot cornea, and clouded lens. Lesions of the skin appear, especially about the face, and disorders of the nervous system may follow. The large number of symptoms, plus the large number of riboflavin enzymes, promises to make the establishment of specific relations between lesion and enzyme action a perplexing matter. Which enzyme, for example, is deficient in the cataract of ariboflavinosis? Is the same enzyme responsible for the dermatitis, or are others involved? Only a few years have passed since the close clinical study of riboflavin deficiency was begun, but we may be sure that considerable effort will be expended on these problems in the near future, for nature has been none too generous with riboflavin, and it is believed to be deficient in more American diets than any other vitamin.

Since 1938, eight new members have been discovered in the expanding complex into which the original vitamin B has grown. Several of these vitamins have already been shown to be concerned with digestion, formation of blood, and maintenance of epithelia on one hand; and with the utilization of proteins and carbohydrates on the other. The only other important water-soluble vitamin now known — C, ascorbic acid — has the ability to promote the formation of the intracellular cementing substances that hold tissues together, bring about the healing of wounds and fractures, and form the basis of sound bones and

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teeth. By still unknown means the vitamin influences the activity of ten or more enzymes and so is involved in the metabolism of carbohydrates and proteins; but again, the links between metabolic action and anatomical effect remain to be uncovered.

Even further out on science's endless frontier is an understanding of the intimate action of the fat-soluble vitamins. Vitamin A supports the cell division that normally continues throughout life in the covering tissues from which the surface cells are steadily sloughed off; in the absence of the vitamin the skin becomes horny and the soft mucosal linings degenerate. The group of vitamins D help to bring about the proper deposition of calcium and phosphorus in developing bones; vitamin E aids in maintaining fertility; and vitamin K is essential for blood coagulation. In no case, however, has it yet been possible to define the mechanism of these effects, or to evaluate the hints that these vitamins may be more generally useful in the machinery of the body.

Alone among the fat-soluble group, vitamin A has had one of its functions, the role in night vision, clearly explained. This is poetically just, for night blindness may be called the first recognized vitamin deficiency — the ancient Egyptians knew that eating liver improved their ability to pick their way by the stars. When dim light falls on the eye, a pigment called visual purple captures the energy of the light and is thereby bleached and broken down; the breakdown transmits the captured energy to nerve fibers which send the impulse to the brain. The products of the breakdown are a protein carrier and vitamin A. In the dark the protein and vitamin are reconstructed into visual purple, which, after the manner of catalysts, is used again. But visual purple is gradually worn out, so that if adequate vitamin A is lacking from the diet, the ability to see in twilight disappears.

Though more details are wanting than known, one aspect of the theory of vitamin action is nonetheless firmly established: vitamins may act, not by supplying energy or by serving as structural material, but by effecting the liberation of energy from foodstuffs and by controlling the chemical activities of the structural units. Inherent in this theory are keys to many puzzles in vitaminology. That vitamins participate in the most fundamental

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chemical reactions, all over the body, explains why moderate deficiencies should bring about the diffuse, even vague, effects which have proved so difficult to define clinically. It explains too why vitamin requirements are not fixed, even according to age or sex, but depend on diet and activity: this is reasonable enough when it is understood that the biochemical equipment which the body requires at any time must be appropriate to the type and amount of food being utilized. The variability of the vitamin requirement is strikingly illustrated by a recent report of a monkey which thrived for three years on a fixed vitamin allowance. The adequacy of the allowance was considered proved; but when the environmental conditions were changed, the animal's health suddenly deteriorated. From cases like this we may conclude that vitamin consumption should allow a margin of safety to cover any stresses — illness, injury, exertion — to which an individual might be exposed.

To continue in practical terms, modern knowledge of vitamin action also implies that good health is fostered by a liberal vitamin intake derived from a variety of natural foods. Emphasis should be placed on natural foods especially because the evidence suggests that there are still unknown factors which may resist identification for a long time. Either because these unknowns are important in themselves (although their effects may be obscure), or because they aid in the proper functioning of other vitamins (several cases of interdependence among the B vitamins have been found) — a sensible policy is to secure them in sufficient amounts. Certainly these little known or unknown factors cannot be secured from vitamin preparations or enriched food products, since these can obviously be supplied with the well-known vitamins only. Nature has scattered food factors important to man among meats, dairy products, whole grains, vegetables and fruits of many kinds. Until that distant time when human vitamin requirements can be established finally and completely, the safest diet will be a diet which includes a wide variety of all these foods.

Beyond promoting present health, a generous vitamin allowance is probably a good prognosis for future health. Recent

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advances in medicine are having the effect of making the disorders of old age a pressing problem. While it is generally accepted that aging is a natural consequence of living, it is also clear that in too many individuals age pounces on heart and blood vessels and kidneys in middle life as an abnormal pathological rather than a normal physiological event. A real possibility exists that small vitamin deficiencies, not great enough to cause overt symptoms in early life, may gradually be summed up into the disabilities of premature age. Certainly the lowering of biochemical efficiency which comes to the bodily tissues with the passage of time seems likely to be hastened by inadequate vitamin intake. Unfortunately, interest in the immediate effects of vitamin deficiencies has thus far drawn attention away from the relation of vitamin supply to length of life; nevertheless, a liberal provision of these essential food factors seems at present to be a practical sort of long-life insurance.

A full understanding of vitamin action promises much in the way of more vigorous health, longer continued. But such benefits can flower only from deep and wide-spreading roots of research. Biochemists unraveling the hundreds of factors, known and unknown, that enter into the economy of the living machine; physiologists learning to define the organism in every state of health and age — these must push our knowledge further into the ultimate secrets of life. Nutritionists studying the effects of deficiencies and combinations of deficiencies in many animals under varied dietary and activity regimens; clinicians applying the results of animal experimentation to human subjects — these must expand the area of usefulness of the facts which basic science discovers. The whole process will not be particularly cheap or easy: research is costly in man-hours and money. But for whatever investment it chooses to make, society is assured of liberal dividends.

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Beer-Hofmann: Double Heritage

Alfred Werner

THE LAST major writers of Old Austria died during the fall of 1945. They were the great Richard Beer-Hofmann, who died in New York at the age of seventy-nine, shortly after having become an American citizen, and Felix Salten, a lesser figure, who was seventy-five when he died in his Swiss asylum. They were the only old Austrian writers of importance not only to witness the invasion of their beloved Austria by the Nazis, but also to live long enough to learn of their country's liberation by Allied troops. They survived all of their prominent colleagues — for Peter Altenberg died in 1919, Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1929, Arthur Schnitzler in 1931, Hermann Bahr in 1934, and Karl Kraus in 1936. By 1947, only a few figures of the last Austrian renaissance, men over seventy, were still living, though in almost complete obscurity; and the mention of their names would evoke little, if any, response from the younger generation.

The Vienna of the *fin de siècle* has often been compared with the Athens of the fifth century B.C. Yet the arts flourished in the capital of the slowly disintegrating Austro-Hungarian monarchy despite the lack of a Pericles to encourage them. Vienna had at least one advantage over ancient Athens — it had the Kaffeehaus, where impecunious writers had unlimited credit, and where, over a *Mokka* (black coffee) or *Kapuziner* (capuchin, dark brown coffee) some of the finest lyrics and prose poems of the German language were produced. In one of these centers of literature and art, the famous Café Griensteidl on the Michaelerplatz, near the old Hofburgtheater, a literary movement was born around 1890 — "Young Vienna." Its founder was the versatile Upper Austrian, Hermann Bahr, who was prone to sponsor new persons and

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places, and to flirt with almost any new political movement, from Ultramontanism to National Socialism. A certain E. M. Kafka, editor of the periodical *Moderne Dichtung*, had suggested the forming of the group as a protest against Berlin and the militant naturalism of Arno Holz, Johannes Schlaf and Gerhart Hauptmann.

"The available material," wrote Bahr, retrospectively, "consisted of a young physician, Dr. Arthur Schnitzler; a person famed about town because of the splendor of his neckties, Dr. Richard Beer-Hofmann; and a high school youth who wrote under the name of Loris, Hugo von Hofmannsthal. I looked them over and took the risk of founding the school."

These four were joined by a host of lesser writers. Who remembers now, for instance, Leopold von Andrian, who later became a follower of Stefan George and ended up by writing a volume in praise of the reactionary *Heimwehr Movement* of Prince Starhemberg? Or Felix Doermann, who, after having published some remarkable poetry, turned toward the more lucrative writing of operetta librettos?

In this country, Schnitzler's sensitive and psychologically interesting plays and stories have found many admirers; an increasing number of Americans are realizing that the young Hofmannsthal wrote some of the noblest verse since Goethe. Regrettably, however, very few Americans, including students of German literature, can boast of a more than fleeting acquaintance with the work of Beer-Hofmann. Yet he was mentioned in the American press long before the American public learned of other modern Austrian writers. In the summer of 1895, a New York paper, the *Commerical Advertiser*, published a brief unsigned item about him:

> A Viennese novelist, a young author who has recently appeared in the field of letters in Vienna, is destined to make a more than ephemeral success. His name is Richard Beer-Hofmann, and he belongs to the coterie of writers in Vienna known as *Jung-Wien*. These writers — novelists, essayists, poets and journalists are included in the flock — are not so flecked with the circumstances of filth as their Parisian confreres are

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> wont to dwell upon. This author has written a book of short stories entitled *Das Kind* [actually this story appeared in one volume with *Camelias*, under the title *Novellen*, in 1893], and his treatment of psychological analysis is strictly in keeping with that followed by the disciples of the latter day school. It is full of stirring episodes, and the vein of gentle pathos running through the entire volume gives it a refinement which is worthy of the pen of a writer of experience. Beer-Hofmann knows his Vienna as thoroughly as Zola his Paris, and his types, with their consistent environment, put one in the very atmosphere of the gay Kaiserstadt.

During the following fifty years Beer-Hofmann's name was rarely mentioned in the American press, and very little of his work appeared in English translation. The prophecy of 1895 came true nevertheless, for Beer-Hofmann did make "more than an ephemeral success," if only in German literature. His books were worshiped by two generations.

Then, exactly a half century after the appearance of the short news story in the *Commercial Advertiser*, Beer-Hofmann's name loomed conspicuously in the entire American press. For the National Institute of Arts and Letters bestowed upon the seventy-nine-year-old refugee the newly created Award for Distinguished Service, to be given to an exiled artist residing in this country. In the auditorium of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York, William Rose Benét hailed the great old man as "the surviving member of the Vienna school of writers, two of whose foremost representatives were Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal," stressing his "candor, uncompromising integrity as an artist, and the purity of his moral attitude." Answering the American poet in his unforgettable, clear, bell-like voice, Beer-Hofmann spoke in praise of American democracy, which had accepted him as a citizen and shown its appreciation of his artistic endeavors: "I do not know how well I succeeded in what I did. A writer's work can never hope to be complete. Yet it was worth trying — if only to learn this lesson." This was the first and last time that Beer-Hofmann addressed a large crowd in English; a few months later, in September, 1945, he died of pneumonia in New York.

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Beer-Hofmann studied law, but did not practice professionally. Heir to a small fortune, he turned to literature, which he found more congenial. He worked slowly, painstakingly, conscientiously; he wrote and rewrote his manuscripts. From these versions, after long deliberation, he would choose for publication the one which seemed best to him. He never abandoned the Golden Rule of Horace, who admonished authors: "You who intend to write what is worthy of being read more than once, erase frequently, and take no pains to make the multitude admire you, being content with a few discriminating readers."

Hofmannsthal, though famous before twenty, having contributed to Stefan George's *Blaetter fuer die Kunst*, had almost completely exhausted his talent by the time he had reached his thirtieth year. Beer-Hofmann was twenty-seven when he broke into print. Thereafter, he slowly surpassed his friends with their aesthetic Epicureanism and hopeless scepticism. There is no doubt that Beer-Hofmann's literary style was strongly influenced by his surroundings, and the melody of his verse and prose often reminds us of the revered Austrian poets, Grillparzer and Stifter. But his healthy philosophy of life outgrew the degenerate atmosphere of Vienna's *fin de siècle*. Waltzing itself to exhaustion, listening to the *Merry Widow* rather than to the revolutionary young Arnold Schoenberg; adoring Kaiser Franz Joseph as some curious antique, and acting in world politics as though the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were still a first-rate power, the Viennese were a sad lot. Their representative writer, Arthur Schnitzler, expressed their hopelessness, their lack of self-assurance, their debonair scepticism, when he made his Paracelsus say: "Dream and awaking, truth and lie, merge into one another; there is no security anywhere. We know nothing about other people, nor about ourselves; we are always playing. He who recognizes that is wise." *

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* This prose translation is by Alfred Werner. Sol Liptzin is the translator of the stanza from *Schlaflied fuer Mirjam* quoted in this article; of the excerpt from *Der Tod Georgs;* and (in prose) of the short passage from *Der Junge David*. The verses from *Jaakobs Traum* are taken from the English version of the drama by Ida Bension Wynn, published under the title, *Jacob's Dream*, by Johannespresse, New York, 1947.

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Beer-Hofmann could have become Vienna's Maupassant, if one may judge by his first novelette, *Camelias*. Its hero is a Viennese dandy who fluctuates between two women. But the writer stepped out of Schnitzler's narrow world of "suesse Maedel" and melancholy lieutenants, and his strength outlived Hofmannsthal's somewhat eclectic aestheticism.

Beer-Hofmann's second story, *Das Kind*, clearly indicated that he was seeking new paths, and avoiding the vicious circle of egocentric self-pity that trapped some of his associates. The novelette's hero, a light-hearted university student, is awakened to a feeling of guilt and responsibility upon finding the grave of his child born out of wedlock; he decides henceforth to face human relations and problems more seriously, for "all things had not merely form and color, but were irradiated by a secret sense; they no longer stood as strangers near each other, but were bound together by a single, common thought."

There has rarely been a more felicitous cultural blending than that of the best Austrian and German literary traditions with the spiritual heritage of Israel in Beer-Hofmann. Take his *Schlaflied fuer Mirjam*, especially its last stanza:

> Asleep, my Miriam? — Miriam, my child,
> We are but banks of a river, and wild
> Flows through us blood of our past, rushing loud
> On to the morrow, unresting and proud.
> In us are all — none, none is alone
> You are their life and their life is your own —
> Miriam — my life, my child — sleep on.

There is a distinctly Jewish element in this beautiful German poem, not only on account of certain phrases such as *Mirjam, mein Leben*, reminiscent of Yiddish expressions of fondness, but also because of its comforting philosophy that everyone is at least a link in an unbroken chain of generations, destined to the same fate. And while the individual must perish, the tribe survives, or, as Isaiah put it: "As a teil tree, and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof." At the same time, the poem, with

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its evocation of the dim origin of life and its dark unfathomable end, somewhat reminds us of the lofty and philosophical Baroque poetry created in the German lands after the Thirty Years' War.

Further development is apparent in Beer-Hofmann's only novel, *Der Tod Georgs* (*The Death of George*, 1900). Basically, it belongs in the tradition of the German *Bildungsroman*, being the study of the triumph of an individual over the forces of life. From the artistic viewpoint, though, Mr. Benét stated correctly that it "anticipated the epical method of James Joyce" (without, however, indulging in the linguistic experiments characteristic of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*). Here both the stress upon his Jewish ancestry and the urgency of social action are clearly noticeable. The hero, Paul, is transformed by the sudden death of his beloved friend, George, from a passive sceptic to a man fully aware that nobody stands alone in this world (see the *Schlaflied*), and that he, as a Jew, must recognize the mission of his people to teach divine justice to all nations:

> Over the life of those whose blood flowed in him, justice was ever present like a sun whose rays never warmed them, whose light never shone for them, and yet before whose dazzling splendor they reverently shielded their pain-covered foreheads with trembling hands. . . . A people which did not beg for grace but wrestled fiercely for the blessing of its Deity, a people wandering through seas, unhindered by deserts, always as aware of a God of Justice as of the blood in its veins, calling its victory God's victory, its defeat God's judgment, selecting for itself the role of witness to God's power, a people of saviors, anointed for thorns and chosen for pain. And slowly releasing their God from sacrifices and burnt-offerings, these ancestors raised Him high above their heads until He stood beyond all transitory suns and worlds, no longer a warrior God of herdsmen, but a guardian of all right, invisible, irradiating all. And of their blood was He.

Beer-Hofmann's philosophy was deterministic, but not fatalistic. He did not believe that man's actions and attitudes are governed by a fate that cannot be affected by any human effort. He would rather have agreed with the dictum of the medieval Jewish philosopher, Bakhya ibn Pakuda: "To what extent man

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is free no one knows; but he should act as if he were free." In a conversation I had with Beer-Hofmann shortly before his death, he said to me: "One cannot change one's fate; the road is predestined for each of us. But the way we walk it, the attitude with which we bear our fate, can be of great influence over events."

In his drama *Der Graf von Charolais* (1905), which was inspired by the Elizabethan play, *The Fatal Dowry*, by Philip Massinger and Nathaniel Field, the disruption of a marriage and the murder of the wife by her jealous husband are precipitated by the fact that the people involved merely followed their instincts, and failed to act as if they were free. The battle between Determinism and Free Will is again the central theme of his great Biblical dramas, *Jaakobs Traum* and *Der junge David*, published in 1918 and 1933, respectively. (These are part of a tetralogy which was to have been completed by two additional plays, *Koenig David* and *Davids Tod*, of which, alas, only a few scenes were written.)

Jaakobs Traum is based on two Biblical episodes: the conflict between the brothers Jacob and Esau, caused by Jacob's theft of the parental blessing, and Jacob's vision during the miraculous night at Beth El, when Eternity was promised to him and his tribe. In the second play, *Der junge David*, the struggle is in the hearts of two other men, the aging tyrant Saul and the youthful David. These plays are a powerful attack upon chauvinism and imperialistic greed. Jacob rejects the Archangel's offer of dominion over the earth, of secular riches:

> Finds He no use for us but to be kings?
> I will not rule! Does He not know?
> Mizraim, Babel, and the sea-land's Princes —
> Can He believe I envy them their gain?
> *Naught* do I envy — not your bliss, nor you. . . .
> Could I rejoice when all things suffer pain?
> All come to me, by day, by night in dreams,
> Green herbage of the earth, man, beast and stone
> Plead for an answer with dumb eyes complaining,
> Asking me — yet all answer is His own!

The Lord grants Jacob's wish. His tribe, chosen to be "God's whipping boy," will suffer grievously throughout the centuries in

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its search for justice and truth, as the Almighty's emissary and advocate, yet it will never perish:

> The peoples now exalted shall be ground
> To dust — and of their might no trace remain!
> Thou only may'st endure! A thousand deaths
> To die — a thousand times from death to rise again!

But nowhere does Beer-Hofmann say that Esau is inferior because he is different from Jacob. It is true that the relation created between God and Israel ("Thou shalt be a holy people unto the Lord thy God. . . . He chose their seed . . . above all peoples") carries in it the germs of the most dangerous national egotism. The prophets, especially Amos, sensed the danger, and did their utmost to transform the "Chosen People" concept into a universalist supra-nationalist philosophy. In *Der junge David* Beer-Hofmann puts into the mouth of David fiery words opposing any possible misrepresentation of the "Chosen People" concept to create a superiority complex, a delusion of grandeur, of racial conceit and vain pride. The Jews, says Beer-Hofmann, do not want to conquer nations; they have the peaceful mission of teaching them the ethics of Israel. True, the young, ambitious David, the giant-killer and national hero, often succumbed to temptation and doubt, but the David who, at the end of the drama, receives the crown of Israel, is no longer an indomitable hotspur. He has suffered the loss of his beloved wife, and has come to realize that he must renounce all purely personal blessings if he wishes to be a blessing to others. In a memorable scene, his ancestress Ruth answers his pathetic question, "What is to become of me now?" with words of wisdom:

> What ultimately becomes of all of us: dung of the earth. Perhaps a song — this, too, is soon wafted away. And yet, until then — David, you must, like God's stars, complete your designated orbit, neither more eternal nor more transitory than they.

The Viennese "Maupassant" of 1895 had become a seer — a pathfinder not only for his own people, but for all those striving after justice and truth. Throughout his life Beer-Hofmann was

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fortunate — until the Nazi invasion drove him and his family from their home, causing the death of Mrs. Beer-Hofmann on their flight through Switzerland. Financially independent, he had lived in a villa in a garden suburb in the southwest of Vienna. The house was a veritable museum, containing scores of precious paintings, antique furniture, beautiful china, and rare books. Together with Gerhart and Carl Hauptmann, he was the recipient of the Volksschillerpreis (for *Der Graf von Charolais*); *Jaakobs Traum* was played in Berlin, in Vienna, in Tel Aviv and in New York (in the two last-named cities by the Hebrew troupe, Habimah). He was famed as a reciter of verse (especially Goethe and Hofmannsthal) and as a stage director (he produced Goethe's *Faust* and *Iphigenie*, and Shakespeare). He enjoyed the friendship of Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal (who compared him to Prospero in *The Tempest*), and Jacob Wassermann. He was usually present at first night performances in the theaters, and during the intermission people would gaze respectfully at the box occupied by the famous man with the imposing forehead and the characteristic goatee.

In New York, the exile, already in his seventies, lived quietly with his daughters and son-in-law on Cathedral Parkway, the portraits of his ancestors adorning the walls of his new home. (His son, Gabriel, lives now in London, where he has published several successful novels under a *nom de plume*.) Occasionally his solitude was interrupted when the German departments of Harvard, Yale, Columbia and other universities invited him to read from his works to graduates and undergraduates. In this country Beer-Hofmann spent most of his time writing his wife's, Paula's, biography — which, inevitably, became his own as well. When part of it (the fragment *Herbstmorgen in Oesterreich*) was published, a reviewer wrote in the *New York Times:*

> . . . These few pages make us feel that this story of a great lifelong love . . . will not have to fear comparison with the most famous classical pieces of its kind. This intensity of passion, this boundless devotion, this sage, unearthly remoteness — all this brought to us in this admirable purity of style — is probably unequalled in contemporary German literature.

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The reviewer expressed the hope that the poet would be granted time "to round out the lines of this lovable, tender face of which we have had so brief a glance." But a fatal sickness overtook the author while working on the book at Lake Placid. There was mourning in the colony of Austrian refugees in New York; telegrams and letters of condolence from all parts of the globe reached the family of the deceased. Far away, in liberated Austria, scenes from *Jaakobs Traum* were again performed on the stage of the Burgtheater, while, some months later, in New York an English version of the drama was published. Simultaneously, Beer-Hofmann's heirs were preparing for the printer the manuscript of the completed parts of his wife's biography. *Paula*, as the book will be called, reconstructs, like the late Stefan Zweig's memoirs, the world of yesterday, but in a more poetic, more personal manner. One reads the story of an assimilated Jewish middle class family of Moravia, one sees the gay Vienna of the nineties; and then Paula turns up, the fascinating woman whom Fate destined to become the wife and friend of a truly great poet.

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Songs of Good and Evil

Gloria Weinstein

Return me my first heaven, gracious Lord,
My little boat that scarcely creased the sea
Or turned a wave, whose side no foot could board
But mine, whose course ran ever on to thee.

Open thy doors, O Lord, let me return
To the white house of my first piety.
Is my chair waiting, does my candle burn
In that still room where first I studied thee?

★ ★ ★

Again I sit and wait for Night.
It is no use to flee
By lowered shade and yellow light
His hated company.

Seizing a corner, he crouches there
While I read or write,
Pretending not to heed the stare
Nor the harsh breath of Night.

Softly he begins to speak
Of stars sewn in his coat,
And if it is the moon I seek
He wears it round his throat.

◎ After being graduated from New York University in 1943, GLORIA WEINSTEIN joined the WAC. Since her discharge in 1944 she has done publishing and radio survey work.

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Old Mill

Alma Robison Higbee

Out by the pond the slender rushes are leaning,
And there is the crystal music of flow and spill
Of slow green water over the millwheel turning,
And churning to silver eddies below the mill.

Upon the pond's still surface with scarce a ripple
The blue geese, drifting and gliding, turn to find
The hollowed nest under the bending willows,
Shadowy, hidden, with coarse marsh grass for a blind.

By the millhouse door men gather, talking and trading,
Where the shade is emerald green and hours are long,
And the old mill burrs keep up their rusty turning,
Grinding the white meal, singing a rusty song.

◎ Since ALMA ROBISON HIGBEE started writing in 1937, her work has appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Good Housekeeping*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Tomorrow*, the *American Mercury*, and other magazines. Miss Higbee is the author of a book, *Songs for Mountain Men*.

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Portrait . . .

EINSTEIN

Leopold Infeld

Once, as Einstein and I walked across the Princeton campus toward his home, discussing questions only very loosely connected with physics, I asked Einstein why he thought his fame had become greater than that of any other living scientist, perhaps greater than that of any scientist in the past. I remember vaguely that the question did not seem to interest Einstein, that he did not say anything striking or worth recalling. I volunteered a theory that I had heard a few years before in Cambridge. I said that this great fame had started very soon after the First World War, when men were sick and tired of killing, hatred, distrust and fear. In their daily papers they read that light rays bend in a gravitational field; that this had been discovered in faraway countries, during a solar eclipse, by an expedition of English scientists, and had been predicted some years before by a German scientist, Albert Einstein. Here was a phenomenon of nature as stirring and colorful as the darkening of the sun and the appearance of stars in daytime. It told the people of the world that on both sides of the trenches scientists had worked on a new theory of our universe, a theory that was now tested by the collaboration of scientists from the two camps that had fought each other a while ago. Here was an event that captured the imagination of the people, and expressed their longing for peace and for a better world.

Einstein thought that there might be some truth in this explanation, but he did not seem convinced; nor did he seem to care whether or not the theory was true. And I believe now that this explanation is too narrow; that it depends too much upon an accident; that it does not explain why Einstein's fame did not fade during the many years that followed.

It is not easy to understand Einstein. Yet I believe that if we know why his fame persists, why he is hated or ridiculed by some and revered by others — if we shall understand that — then, I believe, we may have a clue to Einstein's character.

II

I have met many scientists in my life. I have met them in real life and on the pages of history. Let us perform a highly idealized experiment with these scientists. Let us subtract from them their research ability, and from their conversation anything that even remotely concerns their scholarship. What will remain of them?

There is no way of answering this question. They will become as differentiated as any accidental group of people. You will find

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◎ Professor of applied mathematics at the University of Toronto, LEOPOLD INFELD was born in Poland. He collaborated with Albert Einstein on a book, *The Evolution of Physics* (1938), and received the Anisfield award for his own *Quest: The Evolution of a Scientist* (1941). A new book, *Whom the Gods Love*, will be published in the fall.

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among them bores, vain, bigoted, smug men, or brilliant, broad-minded and warm-hearted men. You will find among them conceited egotists and those who know their responsibilities toward their fellow men. I do not believe that preoccupation with science makes for a better man; I do not even believe that it much improves his use of logic outside science. If it does anything, perhaps it improves the honesty with which he expounds his opinions — but not their quality.

Let us now imagine that we subtract from Einstein his achievement in physics, that we imagine Einstein not as the inventor of the Special and General Relativity Theory, that we forget his work about the photoelectric effect or about Brownian motion. Einstein is the only scientist of whom I would say that, after subtracting all this, he will remain just as great as he was before.

I know that my argument may sound fallacious or self-contradictory. Can we approach Einstein as an ordinary human being, and forget the halo of a great scientist with which the imagination of millions surrounds his head? I don't know. But what I wish to say is something comparatively simple, and based upon my own experience. During the two years of my association with Einstein, while I saw him almost every day — sometimes twice a day — during those many months I was more and more aware of a greatness that has nothing to do with his scientific achievements. I learned much from Einstein in the field of science. Yet as years pass by, I am well aware that I value most the many intangible things outside the field of science that I have learned from him.

III

I met Einstein's name for the first time as an undergraduate student in Cracow (Poland) during my sophomore year. At the end of his lectures in mechanics my professor devoted the last two hours to the Special Relativity Theory. Later, while studying Relativity Theory from original papers (there were no books on it at that time), I thought much about the genius and imagination of its inventor. With the exception of specialists, no one knew Einstein's name at that time (1917). I did not have the slightest idea how old Einstein was or what he looked like.

Then suddenly, almost overnight, Einstein's great fame began. At this time I was a school teacher in a small Polish town, and I did what hundreds of others did all over the world. I gave a public lecture on the Relativity Theory, and the crowd that queued up on a cold winter night was so great that it could not be accommodated in the largest hall in the town. Einstein's photograph appeared in many newspapers, and to my astonishment I saw a face more that of an artist and a prophet than that of a scientist. (I am aware that the last sentence is to some extent meaningless.)

I saw Einstein for the first time in Berlin in 1921, when I was pacing the streets, trying my best to become a student at the University where Planck, Laue and Einstein lectured. I felt unhappy, because I knew nobody. I was lonely, as one can feel lonely only in a great hostile city. For weeks I waited for appointments with people — only to find out how little they cared whether or not I were accepted by the University of Berlin. Yet at that time this seemed to me the decisive question of my life. In desperation I rang up Einstein, and, to my incredulous astonishment, was asked to come right over.

Kindness is a difficult thing to take, when it comes suddenly against an icy background of hostility and indifference. Einstein greeted me with a smile, offered me a cigarette, talked to me as an equal and showed a childlike trust in everything I said. My short interview was an important event in my life. Instead of thinking about his genius, about his achievements in physics, I thought then, and later, about his great kindness, about his loud laugh, about the gentle way he talked, about the brilliance of his eyes, about the clumsiness with which he looked for a piece of paper on a desk full of papers, about the queer mixture of great warmth and great aloofness.

IV

I did not seen Einstein for the next fifteen years. I had a few letters from him on scientific matters, always full of kindness. To me, as to others, he never refused to help when it

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was needed — always writing with simplicity and grace, never with impatience. Now, while writing these words, I am well aware that I was one of the very many who bothered Einstein with their scientific or personal troubles. I do not feel happy now, that upon my publisher's advice I asked Einstein to write a few words about my first book — just a sentence or two. (Instead I received a full introduction, written with warmth and sympathy.) Yet I am well aware that if it were not for the kindness shown me by Einstein, I should probably now be among those buried in the camps of Oswiecim or Majdanek, where most of my family perished.

I came to this continent upon Einstein's invitation in 1936. For the next two years, I worked with him and saw him almost every day. We talked about physics; we wrote two papers and a popular book; we discussed hundreds of things: the Spanish Civil War, the Jewish problem, the Soviet Union, Idealism versus Realism in philosophy, and many others.

There are innumerable stories about Einstein — some of them true, some invented. They show that he is witty, or unworldly, or trusting, or absent-minded; that he bursts quickly into loud laughter, plays with his hair, or goes without socks or tie. But none of the stories gives a clue to Einstein's character. In trying to understand him, it is difficult to proceed in an inductive way — that is, from facts or incidents to his personality. As in theoretical physics, so in writing about Einstein, the deductive method seems quicker and simpler: the development from a theory to particulars. The "why" of such an approach is fairly obvious. Material facts matter less in Einstein's life than in anyone else's. The world of his sense impressions, of cold, hunger, pain, is dulled by the great intensity of his internal life. The adventure of Einstein's life is that of his mind.

V

During my life I have met many scientists who are much better than I am. I have admired their intellect, the quickness with which they solve their problems, their brilliance in discussion, the fact that they have seen difficulties that I failed to see. At such times one experiences a peculiar mixture of admiration and humiliation. It is not an unmixed pleasure to see someone else's mind jumping through obstacles that seemed insurmountable to me. No, such an experience is seldom an undisturbed pleasure, and those who tell you differently are, I am sure, dishonest with themselves. Yet I never experienced any annoyance of this kind while working with Einstein. Why? I believe there are two reasons for it, and the second of them is more important for the understanding of Einstein's character.

When Einstein explains his theories, the thought of impressing anyone is as absent from his mind as water from the moon. He expresses his ideas slowly, thoroughly, repeating essential points, answering questions patiently, never assuming that his listener is either bright or dull. He speaks as though his object were to make the ideas clear to his own mind. The overtone "I did it, wasn't it clever of me?" is simply not there. Einstein may praise his work, but only like a man who by accident has stumbled upon a priceless gem, never like a man who created it by the work of his hands.

But there is another more important reason why the impact of Einstein's superiority never seems disturbing or humiliating.

Many times while we worked together, I marveled at the depth of his thoughts, at the breadth of his vision and, above all, at the tenacity with which he clings to his problems. (Einstein often remarked to me that research ability is essentially a matter of character.) Yet all these things seemed to me the less important the longer I worked with him and the better I knew him. As great as Einstein is as a physicist and a philosopher, he is still greater as a man.

I know that the last sentence sounds like a bad cliché. Yet it cannot be, because Einstein is the only great scientist of whom I could say it. When one comes in contact with him, one is not overwhelmed by his greatness as a scientist. This greatness is engulfed by the greatness and strangeness of his whole personality. Einstein is unlike anyone else. And perhaps this simple fact is the real clue to his fame. The real clue is not the spectacu-

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lar discovery of the bending of light rays. If this were so, why should this fame persist in a quickly changing world that forgets today its idols of yesterday? It must rather be his inner greatness, which the people of the world somehow sense and need for their comfort.

VI

I am sure that Einstein will not read these words, since he neither reads nor cares about what anyone writes of him. If he were to read them, I would be embarrassed and could not write freely.

It is easy to say that Einstein is great as a scientist, but even more so as a man. But wherein does this greatness lie? And how is it reflected in the minds of the people? My answer may sound bombastic, but I believe it to be true. For me and for many others (some of them could not or would not care to formulate the answer explicitly), Einstein is the aloof conscience of the world.

It is not difficult to comprehend his distaste for bullying, for pushing others around, or his readiness to defend any just and decent cause. Yet even this is not as simple as it seems. One would be tempted to think about someone sensitive to the outside world and to wrongs done, someone who suffers when he hears of violence or injustice. Yet such a picture would be entirely misleading. I do not know anyone as lonely and detached as Einstein. His extreme kindness, his absolute decency, his straightforwardness in dealing with men and social ideas is, in spite of all the appearances to the contrary, impersonal and aloof. His heart does not bleed, his eyes do not cry, yet his deeds are those of a man whose heart bleeds and whose eyes cry. Perhaps this aloofness and detachment makes it possible for him to achieve the highest moral level any human being can achieve. The moral scale becomes unbalanced if the "I" is involved. It is sensitive and accurate for Einstein, because his "I" is little involved.

This aloofness creates some limitations. Once he wrote that the position of a lighthouse keeper would be suitable for a scientist, because it would give him much leisure for thinking and working. I tried to explain to him that only two or three men in the world could work scientifically under such conditions, that almost everyone needs association in his work. Einstein listened, but it was not easy for him to see my point. Indeed he is the only scientist who could be content as a lighthouse keeper.

VII

In what I have just written, I have used my own judgment, my own impressions. They may be different from those of others who may know Einstein as well or better than I. I have not seen him in the last few years. Sometimes I think that the last few years may have lessened his aloofness. I don't know.

Einstein's life is full of the ironies of fate and external contradictions. He did his most important scholarly work when he was a clerk in a patent office in Switzerland. He achieved a fame greater than that of any other scientist, although no other man is so indifferent to fame and so uncomfortable about publicity as he is. Fame or external circumstances can change him very little. Like a lighthouse keeper, he is isolated through his aloofness. Yet something has happened in the last few years that may have made a greater impression on him than anything else. Again I don't know.

Einstein often told me that he is more of a philosopher than a physicist. His work in physics was of a very abstract nature; though connected with experiment, it was little connected with technique. Yet, as everyone knows, Einstein's Theory of Relativity has something to do with the atomic bomb. This is perhaps the greatest irony in his life. An aloof man, a genius in the field of abstract thought, a man who has contempt for violence, is looked upon as the "father" of the atomic bomb.

In his recent photographs Einstein's face seems to me older than the passing of a few years would justify. He still wears his sweater, and he still does not wear a tie. But in his face I now see a suffering that I did not see before.

A few weeks ago I received a letter signed by Einstein as the chairman of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. With it was a small pamphlet containing his article "Only Then Shall We Find Courage."

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Here he speaks with the insight and power of a prophet. Indeed, it is the conscience of the world that speaks to us — the wisest, simplest words ever spoken on a subject drowned in a flood of meaningless silly words formed into clichés by men who understand and learn nothing.

There was suffering in Einstein's writing, and strong indications that now the impact of a troubled world has invaded his aloofness. In his words there is a message for humanity. And it seems to me a thousand times more important that people should understand his simple words than that they should understand the Relativity Theory.

At the end of his article he writes:

> When we are clear in heart and mind — only then shall we find the courage to surmount the fear which haunts the world.

These are the aims for which Einstein strove all his life: to be clear in mind and heart. He is one of the very few who have achieved this clarity.

Coming in the Autumn Number . . .

A chapter from work in progress	Van Wyck Brooks
Science and the Humanist's Ganglia	Harlow Shapley
The Midwestern Origins of America	Joseph E. Baker
The Reconstruction of Religion	Jerome Nathanson
Johannes Brahms (1833–1897)	Sara Ruth Watson
The Russian Influence in English and American Literature	Dorothy Brewster

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IS THIS EDUCATION?

An examination of education under the GI Bill of Rights, by veterans studying at six American universities and colleges.

Subsidy or Sympathy?

John Higham

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, the veterans are accepting barracks quarters, half-hour chow lines, bulging classrooms, and a swamped library, with becoming grace and accustomed fortitude. Neither very grateful nor particularly disgruntled, they're taking their education as they find it — and they're glad to get it. Only on one score are they frankly and openly dissatisfied — they want more money.

The wisdom of granting increased subsistence payments may be open to question, but the need for them is clear enough. The GI Bill of Rights provides allowances of $65 for single and $90 for married veterans. Yet, on this campus (a comparatively cheap one), soaring costs have boosted the expenses of the average single veteran to more than $100 per month for bare essentials of life; the average married veteran spends $145. The gap is too great for some to bridge, and they are dropping out of school. For others it means working during the summer instead of remaining on a year-round academic schedule, and thus delaying that much more their already long deferred entry upon productive careers.

Not all GI students are convinced that raising the kitty is the best way to sweeten the educational pot. A few oppose the increase. Some of those few, mostly students who can foot the bill themselves, appeal to the shibboleths of self-help and rugged individualism, and take a jaundiced view of government spending in general. Another group has weightier objections. These people, public-spirited and civic-minded, oppose special interests even when they belong to one; they remember the rapacious treasury raids and bonus bills that followed the last war, and they detect a faint resemblance in the plea for larger subsistence checks. Their distrust stems from the healthy conviction

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that the true interests of veterans and all citizens converge, and that exploitation of the community's gratitude can only rend the two asunder.

The best answer to this criticism accepts its premise while rejecting its conclusion. The entire program of veterans' education, defenseless as a gesture of patriotic sympathy, appears in a wholly different light when viewed as a constructive social function. By putting the ex-serviceman through school, the government is not distributing a barren cash reward at the expense of the rest of the community; it is not robbing Peter to pay GI Joe. Basically, the program subsidizes education. It molds skilled, informed citizens out of an uprooted generation. It adds to the human resources of the whole society. The price has risen, but the product remains the same.

To deny that the nation owes the veteran a reward simply because of his service is not to question legitimate rehabilitation. Those whom the war bruised most deeply need help in the process of recovery. But rehabilitation is an individual and localized problem, demanding solutions adapted to particular cases. It does not justify giving a free education to all veterans who meet the academic requirements. The justification for the schooling bestowed on 1,777,000 young men and women by Public Law 346 rests almost entirely on America's need for educated citizens.*

But America needs such citizens regardless of their previous condition of servitude; she needed them before the war, and she will need them long after. To my mind, a defense of GI education as a productive community service immediately exposes its inadequacies. Will the infantryman make a better teacher than the 4F? Will the airman be a better doctor than his younger brother who never got beyond the Boy Scouts? A democracy hungry for leadership will not find its hunger appeased once the last veteran has secured his college degree.

The inadequacies of the GI Bill of Rights are not due entirely to its restriction to GI's. They arise equally from its restriction to the immediate expenses of the individual student. By simply paying the veterans' tuition charges and subsistence, the government is pouring new wine into old and already overflowing bottles. Shaky enough under normal conditions, the country's educational structure is expected to survive, unaided and fundamentally unchanged, the deluge of subsidized students. When the government wanted tanks, it financed the retooling necessary to build them, in addition to letting the contracts. Now America has placed an extraordinary order for educated men without supplying new facilities for producing them.

By makeshift adjustments, the colleges admittedly have done a commendable job in absorbing the veteran flood, but only their most zealous apologists would argue that the overworked and overrun institutions of today provide as good an education as those of yesteryear. A lopsided program of subsidization cannot generate maximum social benefits. To produce the best students, the educators need subsidies too.

To be sure, the legislators who passed the GI Bill of Rights had no such schemes in mind. Investing in a richer culture was not their dominant concern. Primarily, they were engaged in paying off the debt which they presumed the nation owed to its warrior sons for accepting a civic duty. This negative psychology still prevails among all concerned — the public, the veterans themselves, and even the educators.

But the fact remains that the GI Bill has placed the federal government in the business of education. We have made a beginning in the task of widening democracy in the colleges. We have driven a wedge into the traditional educational structure. When the veteran tide recedes, we can let our deflated and exhausted schools seal up the crack and return to business as usual, or we can exploit the wedge to open new opportunities for social welfare. With will and vision, we can transform a temporary windfall into a permanent triumph.

* This figure was used by *Life* in its issue of April 21. The World Almanac for 1947 uses the number 1,292,893 from Veterans Administration statistics of November, 1946.

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The Need for Direction and Meaning

M. T. Cooke, Jr.

Many veterans have returned to college after three or four years in uniform, with the belief that one of the few common convictions binding the country together is faith in education. For those college graduates in whom familiarity had bred a measure of contempt or distrust for the educational process, it was impressive to discover how widespread and sincere was the faith in education among the millions of individuals who made up our Armed Forces, and who now challenge our colleges to fulfill their hopes.

But what are the hopes that have led so many veterans to college? Intellectual curiosity and the desire for social and economic advancement, although real motives, cannot completely explain the fervor with which the veterans have taken up their studies. Is it not possible that the master motive, which, though often unsuspected, has guided the veteran back to college, is a bravely, perhaps naïvely, idealistic belief in the power of the individual, through knowledge and reason, to refashion and improve our world? Although visionary, this idealistic response to the irrationality of war shows a tough practicality and realism that distinguishes it from callow hopefulness, and may ensure it longer life than a similar mood after the last World War.

If this diagnosis contains any truth, it is obvious that the veteran who returns to college does not confront our educational system with any fundamentally new demands; an idealism which has always permeated educational theory has somehow survived the discouragements of the past decades and continues to ask that education direct its efforts to the betterment of the individual and of the world. However, though the ultimate goal remain the same, the techniques which are directed toward its attainment should be reappraised in terms of the needs and interests of the veterans who constitute so large a portion of our colleges' present student bodies.

The veteran is, in general, more mature by four years and a wealth of experience than the customary freshman or graduate student of prewar days; he has different and probably wider interests than the eighteen-year-olds for whom the usual college courses are offered. And he cannot be expected to thrive under a regimen designed for his juniors. Willing and even anxious to work hard, the veteran perhaps could be spared the techniques of quizzing and questioning that were devised as prods for more reluctant students. But on the other hand, though he can well dispense with the close supervision which greatly enlarged student bodies now make impossible, he needs the guidance and encouragement which he often fails to receive. Teachers of any kind are today almost as rare as inspiring teachers have always been in the past; under these conditions it is unfortunately inevitable that students are deprived of the close relationship with faculty members that can give vitality to learning. No one would react more violently against intellectual pampering than the average student-veteran, but his self-sufficiency is not so great that he can dispense with the stimulation and direction that personal contact with a good teacher can supply, and for which instruction in the lecture hall is no substitute.

In many cases, the colleges seem guilty of failure even to adapt courses to the greater maturity of the veteran; handicapped by the shortage of teachers and preoccupied with the administrative problems created by the increase in the number of students, the colleges have often clung to traditional techniques and shirked the revision of courses and of

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departmental programs that would increase their usefulness to the veteran. It is of course obvious that an educational system which has functioned with fair success for several generations should not be scrapped to satisfy a specialized demand that is already beginning to disappear, as more and more veterans finish their college studies. On the other hand, since the veteran desires, not a recasting, but only an improvement of our traditional system, it seems unfortunate that the colleges are not quicker in seizing a rare opportunity to raise the general level of the education they offer. While the veterans, by the intensity of their application and the quality of their work, are creating a new and higher standard of student achievement, the college authorities seem unable to match this accomplishment by a comparable improvement in the quality of the courses, which often remain bound to traditional methods of bimonthly tests, term papers and two lectures a week.

These are, however, negative and perhaps picayune criticisms. They do not strike at the heart of the failings of our present educational system. If it is the hope of improving the world through knowledge and reason that underlies the desire for education, our colleges must advance this ideal by directing their attention to reality, and resisting the blandishments of the words "practical" and "abstract." The veterans and the other younger students have so clearly demonstrated their general preference for studies tightly bound to actuality — for engineering rather than mathematics, for government in preference to history — that there is little likelihood of our colleges permitting education to escape into a refinement of irrelevant abstraction that could perhaps be called a new scholasticism. On the other hand, there is a distinct possibility of our colleges becoming trade or vocational schools, under the pressure of a misinformed desire for the practical in education. By an easy debasement of the word and the theory, a practical education can lose its soul and become simply a material education, which gives the individual only mechanical skill instead of intellectual self-reliance. To forestall this eventuality, our colleges must overcome their present fear of philosophy and ethics, and at least supplement the continuing trend toward greater specialization by an increased encouragement and stimulation of a philosophic outlook, which can relate specialized pursuits and give direction and meaning to education.

The Contemporary Context

Keith Spalding

It is traditionally the duty of educators to seek truth, to investigate, to weigh facts carefully. Such scientific appraisal involves perspective. Therefore, it is understandable that professors welcome the study of things in the past, because the passage of time allows a growth of perspective.

But the veteran — the much maligned GI Joe — has returned with his mind attuned to change. His service life was one of frequent physical changes. He was taught to keep himself constantly prepared for adaption to new and different situations. But this adaptation was done without question; the veteran was seldom in an investigative frame of mind.

The maturity with which he is generally credited has been termed aptly "growth in a vacuum." He has attained a physical and moral adulthood without a corresponding growth mentally and perceptively.

He was told so many times what he was fighting for — apple pie, the girl back home,

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the corner drug store — that he began to have a real nostalgia for the Better Life he expected to find when he returned. But seldom, if ever, were the military teachers able or willing to tell him the actual significance of the war. This led to a kind of mental sterility which began to pall to such an extent that most of us will now maintain that our lives in service were monotonous and drab. The veteran has come to school to dispel this mental aridity.

Of course all men and women will not react in the same manner to this sort of stimulus situation. We may not generalize about the veteran, any more than we can make general statements about Jews or democracy. We should deal only with specifics, but there seem to be a few characteristics of the veteran student that are more or less universal.

It is entirely possible that some veterans who are going to school under the GI Bill of Rights are "just going along for the ride" because they lack the energy or courage to break away from the paternalism they became accustomed to in their homes, schools and military training.

These are a minority, however. The majority are seriously "taking time off from life" to prepare themselves for successful positions in society as they know it, or to make changes in that society where they believe them necessary.

These majority members, for the most part, have come to school with a yearning for things they were not taught or allowed to think of while they were in service. They are serious, demanding and critical. There is considerable evidence that their impact on the slow-moving educational system has been felt. This effect has been greater than the sheer weight of numbers.

For example, here at the University of Iowa, classes have become much larger in courses with such names as Background of the News, Man in Society, Significant Books in American Civilization, Politics in the Far East, Labor Economics, Foreign Trade, and Political Parties.

These are courses which, if not new, are now being taught in a contemporary context. Since enrollments in these classes have increased out of proportion to the total University enrollment, it would seem veterans are interested in studies of "today."

It would indicate that the day is gone when the professor-stereotype may drone on, lecturing from notes accumulated in his first few years of teaching. It is notable that professors are no longer able to lecture dogmatically without proving points and drawing clear distinctions between opinion and fact. Their audiences are no longer apathetic. Education is a more vital thing than it was before the war. More than ever, the professor is called upon to maintain his intellectual curiosity and honesty. The professor is wise now who remains always a student.

The veterans' impact is broader than just in the classroom, of course. The *Daily Iowan*, student newspaper here at Iowa, recently published an editorial in which the editor, a married veteran, asked the university administrators to establish a course to teach the full significance of the discovery of atomic energy. When the response was negligible, he followed the editorial with another, accompanied by reports of interviews with twenty-nine key faculty members. Although no official statement has been made, it is understood that a faculty committee will be appointed soon to investigate, not only this veteran's suggestion, but also the possibility of a course dealing with the significance of "other weapons of mass destruction."

As for other general characteristics of the student veteran, there can be no doubt that the majority are studying with serious purpose. Their goals are near; their activity toward those goals is appreciably more intense and vigorous. This is not to say that every veteran knows what he wants to do after leaving school, but it does mean that he is in school with a healthy curiosity and a somewhat more mature attitude toward knowledge than was largely true before the war.

This would lead to a conclusion that is already in general acceptance: that competition for grades and degrees is much keener now than before. But it must not lead to the generally accepted stereotype of the veteran as an adult, well-balanced, highly-advanced student. To consider the veteran

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as a separate and distinguished "problem class" is to resort to a kind of categorical thinking that is fallacious.

To isolate the veteran in a situation where all students study more intensely, and give him special properties, is bally rot. Just as in any group of students, you will find among veterans some who are confused, disturbed, easily distracted and unsure of what the future holds for them.

It is encouraging that they have turned to education to satisfy their needs. It is obvious that the veteran is contributing to his own education. It is vital that education keep pace with his needs.

The greatest service a professor can do his students is to stay aware of their changing interests and then teach his field of facts in a frame of reference that will allow the student to use them in the contemporary scene.

Faults on Both Sides

Jud Kinberg

The paradox of the influx of GI Joe College is that men who resented restrictions in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps are willingly regimenting education. Veteran-students here at the University of North Carolina have sacrificed many interests which formerly were integral parts of that whole termed "college life." The result is an atmosphere resembling the production line of a Detroit foundry.

The great percentage of men who poured into schools under the impetus of the GI Bill have absented themselves from such relatively important pursuits as publications, campus self-government, many other after-class activities. Whatever the reasons — and such things as financial hardship, age, family responsibilities for married veterans, are only the most prominent — they have made of college merely a housing for the mass production of degrees. The more strictly academic situation is similar. No longer is there much interest in study as an art in itself, or in study for the pleasure of it. This has been supplanted, in too many cases, by the "how soon?" attitude.

War-interrupted upper classmen have returned to the university to find that their field of major study no longer seems important or interesting to them. But because there is many a balding head in the group, such veterans continue for a degree in the same department, rather than make a change which would require a greater expenditure of time.

If any one cause can be singled out for this attitude, it is that word "time." Two, three or four years were lost in the war. Now, as they return to the national campus, veterans feel that more of their precious twenties are slipping away from them. This, they reason, is the age to be furthering a career.

Unfortunately, little is done to persuade this type of student that education on a level higher than the mechanics entailed in obtaining a degree is worth seeking. In its fullest sense, the university can never be classrooms and books alone. College is the last time when a man can experiment with his future and not pay heavily for failure. Too few veterans are making full use of this peculiar attribute of their present environment.

Inability to slow the pace, as a result of this dread of age, drives these students on to the high marks they are now making. They have no time for failing. They also have no time for sitting back from the edge of the seat and gaining more from studies than information necessary for passing the course.

If this situation is partially responsible for

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an increasing disregard for the higher purpose of the university, blame must also be fixed upon large classes and inadequate professors.

In the Armed Services, America's 12,000,000 soldiers, sailors and marines were exposed to the most modern teaching methods. Most instructors were good. They had to be to get a former dramatics student to field-strip a rifle while blindfolded, after only a few days devoted to the weapon. Classes were large, but efforts were made to break down the "student body" into small, self-contained entities. Turning citizens into soldiers was a task carried out with amazing dispatch through vigorous application of the new, healthy modes of instruction.

In comparison, the average college professor seems weak and ineffectual. It is not valid to plead that his is a different task. Whether it is right or not, the veteran's mind is geared to a vigorous manner of attack upon the problems of "getting the information and spirit across." Today, the returning student finds classes where registration is limited only by the number of seats in the room. He finds professors mumbling from notes yellowed with age. The college has a new type to teach. So far it has done little to reorient itself.

The present predominance of servicemen merely points up this situation, which has existed for years. The mediocre teacher is the one who should assay a keener approach. He is also the one least able or willing to do so. Once he has solidified his notes, they become a finite part of his thinking, an immutable outline for the course.

The veteran will be out of colleges and universities in a short time. If educators desire, they can forget the chinks in their armor that this great experiment in mass higher education has revealed. There is real and compelling danger if they choose to do so, for it is generally predicted that enrollments will shrink little even after the GI Bill has financed its last student. The nation is moving toward the day when an A.B., and not a high school diploma, is closest to the norm.

College conditions at present are a trial run for the wide-scale education of the future. Faults which are of the veteran's own making will leave with him. Those faults which he has shown to be inherent in the present system cannot be allowed to remain if we are to offer worthwhile advanced study to all.

Much has been done by this university and all universities to aid former servicemen in entering or returning to school. If this report is one of faults rather than achievements, it is because the most vital task is to clarion and correct the faults. Old oaken bucket methodology is too creaky for dipping from the well of learning on the mass scale — a prospect which we can and should envision for the near future.

A Social Problem To Be Faced

Robert Wheeler

For those educators who think of their job as something more than the equipping of students with the specific skills necessary to the performance of a job, the return of veterans to college campuses presents a special challenge. In a general sense, this challenge has always existed in American education. It grows out of the problem of reconciling individual goals with democratic goals. It is the problem of making each individual aware of the relation of his welfare to that of the sum of individuals in his society.

This article is addressed especially to those educators who have had the courage to face this problem, and who have recognized that it is difficult, if not impossible, to teach

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students to solve the problems involved in living in American society, without teaching them to solve the problems of living in their educational community. For such educators the expansion of college enrollments due to the return of veterans has had a more serious effect than the minor irritants caused by shortages of housing and classroom facilities. It has meant an increase in the ratio between the number of students and the number of trained teachers. Because of it, teachers are faced with heavier course burdens and larger classes. It is more difficult than ever for teachers to extend their relationship with students beyond the fulfillment of specific course requirements. The return of the veteran has had the unfortunate effect of increasing the pressure, already strong in America, to make education an impersonal, mass affair.

Furthermore, some attitudes prevalent among the veterans themselves are not calculated to counterbalance this trend. Rather, they tend to reinforce it. Many veterans feel that while time spent in the service was very valuable as personal experience, it represented a serious delay in their training for a career. The main thing these veterans want from a college education is training for a specific job or profession. They want it as quickly as possible. The kind of information they are most willing to accept from instructors is that which will give them specific career skills.

However, the value that veterans do place upon personal experience gained in the service makes them less willing to accept other kinds of information from their instructors. They feel, whether consciously or unconsciously, that their relation to the primary forces operating in society has already been a direct and crucial one, upon which future judgments of the relation of the individual to society can be based. They feel that the responsibilities they have taken, and the decisions they have made, have been at least as serious and important as have the decisions made and responsibilities assumed in the daily lives of their instructors. These veterans often feel that this background of experience gives their social judgments as much (if not more) authority as the judgments of their instructors.

In addition, the army experience of the veteran has given him a period of adult independence which makes him less apt than the normal college entrant to project parental authority upon his teachers. This special resistance of veterans to educational authority is increased by memories of an army society in which authority was synonymous with impersonal and unpleasant coercion.

For these reasons, though the veteran is apt to be strongly motivated to do well in his courses, he is more apt than the non-veteran student to object to being told what kind of courses are the best ones for him to take, what kind of personal life it is best for him to lead, or what kind of relation to college or national society it is best for him to have. *That is, he is apt to be more receptive to education than the non-veteran student in a narrow sense, and less receptive in a broad sense.*

Thus, the return of veterans to school has meant, on the one hand, that the burden placed on teachers by the rapid expansion of college enrollments has tended to restrict the education of veterans to the confines of curricular requirements. On the other hand, attitudes of the veterans themselves tend to impose upon education the same restrictive limits. In this situation it would be difficult for one dedicated to the importance of education in any wide sense to answer the question "Is this education?" with a conscience-free "yes."

Admittedly, the points just raised suggest that it may be difficult to arrive at a solution for the problems created by veterans as students. But they do not suggest that these problems are insolvable. The growing tendency of some educators to look forward hopefully to the time when the disrupting avalanche of veteran students will have passed by, is based upon the assumption that veterans are not less educable, but are non-educable in any wide sense. This kind of thinking is dangerous, not only because it constitutes a tacit admission of defeat; it is dangerous because other attitudes inherited by veterans from their service experience may make their re-education in a wide sense extremely important.

For the first principle of training the individual to accept American military so-

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ciety was that he should be forced to accept its methods and goals without question. In the absence of any unifying ideological principle, the discipline of rewards and punishments was used to provide the motivation for that unquestioning acceptance. Individual success meant the use of the existing framework of military society, as best as one could, for the achievement of personal goals. In that society personal success often was gained at the expense of, and in opposition to, the personal success of other members of the military social group.

Many veterans have returned to school with the conscious, or unconscious, inclination to apply these methods of adjusting their individual aims to the aims of other members of their social group in the educational community. And they will extend this attitude to their behavior in American society in general unless educators are able to change their social thinking.

Insofar as military service has provided their basis for judging individual and group relations, veterans, so far, have not been trained to see clearly the conflict between individual goals achieved at the expense of other members of their social group, and the success of their society. Educators, for the most part, have failed to make them see that there is a relation between individual and social success which ultimately makes them interdependent. They have failed to teach veterans that this relation is one of cause and effect which, with increasing directness, may prove the fate of each man to be co-equal with the fate of his society.

Despite the difficulties involved, it is important that educators attempt to give veterans an education in this wide sense. If they cannot succeed, the results may be serious, not just because veterans are an important part of our population, but because this failure may be symptomatic of the inability of educators to provide Americans with the means of solving their social problems.

The Need for Flexibility

Cecil F. Rospaw

In housing, and economically, Stanford student veterans are in a favorable position when compared to student veterans throughout the country. The nucleus of the group are men who were in attendance before the war. The University obtained lease on an Army hospital (Dibble General) which offers adequate housing within the means of the GI Bill. It is only two miles from the campus. The total enrollment of Stanford before the war was about 5,000 students. The same facilities are now handling close to 7,000 students. Libraries are taxed and instructors overburdened, yet the situation is good enough to warrant an investigation entirely from the viewpoint of educational opportunities.

Veterans coming to college for the first time seem more or less resigned to spending the first two years of studies in courses that are not of their choice. Returning men who had not completed lower division requirements seem to be giving the administration the most trouble.

They seem to feel that because they know what they want, in most cases, the responsibility for reading the bulletins should be placed on their shoulders, for they do want to graduate, and undoubtably they will take the right courses. These men also are sure of

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◎ A student in journalism at Stanford University, CECIL F. ROSPAW had attended the University for only one year before entering the Army. Mr. Rospaw was recently appointed by the American Veterans Committee as college chapter chairman for the Pacific coast. He is a columnist for *History '47*, the Stanford Daily.

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what they don't want, and because they feel the press of time and age they do not want to "waste their time."

It is in lack of flexibility that the school has failed the veteran. Our standardized educational system is too restricting when placed over these new "citizens of the world." In necessarily restricted fields, engineering, pre-med, etc., the veteran realizes that his time is pledged. But he does appreciate human and mature handling. He also likes the educational approach which works in the modern and everyday aspect of things as much as possible. One physics course here is particularly valuable to student vets. At least once a week the scientific aspects of the news of the week are discussed.

Nothing can be done about the size of classes or the drop in quality of the instructors. But we on this campus have noticed one great lack, and again it is flexibility. In geography, history, language, political science, and similar courses there is a wealth of material sitting around in the classroom which is very seldom tapped by the instructor. These student veterans will seldom offer opinions, but if asked, or if a discussion is started, some amazing experiences and knowledge will come to light.

While this particular group is on the campus a special effort should be made to use their specific knowledge. This would not only humanize the classroom, but break down the barrier between veteran and non-veteran in the only way possible under our modern educational setup.

A curious political situation developed at Stanford among the student veterans this year which may well illustrate what happens to this group when they feel that the "rights" of their pseudo-maturity are being evaded.

An idea was evolved from one group of veterans which was based on the eternal question "What to do about the peace?" They thought that some gesture on the part of the student body should be made towards international understanding. The student executive committee was petitioned for funds to set up a committee to canvass the student body, pick representative students, and provide an itinerary for these students to make a survey of present conditions in Europe. If nothing else, the trips would be thought-provoking on the Stanford campus. Primarily it was a veteran's idea, based on those things which were supposedly fought for — the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the UN. But when it came time to grant the money for the trips a terrific split in student support was noticed.

Almost all of the support for the plan came from the non-veterans of the campus. The most vocal opposition came from a hall composed almost entirely of veterans, and it was apparent that they spoke for most of the campus. Much of the veteran attitude seemed to be summed up in the answer, "We have been to Europe. We know the situation there. Why doesn't someone ask us?"

If this pent-up knowledge had already been exhausted, so that veteran and non-veteran alike had been in the same general frame of mind, this particular situation might never have developed.

The viewpoint of the veterans in this one situation was surely not logical, but was perfectly in keeping with the over-all history of veterans' movements. Witness the policies of the American Legion after the last war, and even today. During the thirties this group was the bulwark of reaction and isolation, and maintained and upheld the policies which led directly to World War II.

Veterans are a curious mixture. They get preferential treatment. But it is seldom the type they want. What are the steps that lead to cynicism and despair? There is the original shock of running into friends and relations who don't care to discuss the world situation, at any time — of meeting older people who won't listen to or face facts. Probably the veteran then feels that everything will be all right when he returns to school. For in our minds isn't a university the place for correlation and consolidation of ideas and thoughts, the place that should care about these things? Yet again he runs into apathy and lack of interest.

A man who is fresh from a foreign land, forced into a class because it is a "requirement," then forced to sit through hour after hour of endless lectures on a subject that he feels he can add much to, if and when he

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finally gets a chance — this man is in a perfect position to become "resentful."

The situation which developed on this campus, with veterans opposed to what were once veterans' ideas, is only a small thing. But if situations like this are allowed to develop all over the country, and veterans combine on national issues with essentially the same views, it could develop into a bad situation.

As a general survey these thoughts are a little unfair to the university. Courses are being adapted, but the process is too slow, and the tradition of straight lecture has not been broken as yet.

The problem of flexibility is an important one. Veterans are already graduating, and it is expected that within three years few if any applications will be received for the GI Bill. The problem is so general throughout the country that it should be recognized now, and some immediate work done to liberalize requirements and add flexibility to the curriculum, to the advantage of this small group which has so much to offer during its short stay on the campuses.

Veterans appreciate the freedom of action and the independence accorded them under the GI Bill. They also feel that the education so procured is much more valuable.

I am sure that most of the educators here would agree that the hardest and most diligent workers in the veterans' class comes from the group who ordinarily would not be able to afford the opportunity. Many of these boys remember their humble beginnings well, and are majoring in fields which will give them a chance to do something about economic conditions in their locale.

This speaks well for the mood and thought behind the GI Bill. It is a fine example of representative government making many of its advantages available to the most people. It is to be hoped that some system is worked out so that this program, which will mean so much to our nation in the future, does not wither away when the privileged group of veterans is out of the college-age group.

A program of government educational subsistence should not be tied in with any of the Armed Forces, but should be absolutely independent, and should be made available to the whole broad base of the American people, giving young, eager high school students of all races and creeds a chance to increase their stature, the stature of their peoples, and the stature of America in the eyes of the world.

In the Autumn Number . . .

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM will present a discussion of American foreign policy.

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The Reader Replies

SHOULD THE SCIENTISTS RESIST MILITARY INTRUSION?

Albert Einstein, Alan T. Waterman, Robert K. Merton
William Y. Elliott, Douglas P. Adams, Aldous Huxley

The Reader Replies *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. In the Autumn Number, for example,* The Reader Replies *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the question: "Is This Education?" All such communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *5 East 44 Street, New York 17, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all such communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Autumn Number should be mailed before August 10. (Editor)*

The Military Mentality

It seems to me that the decisive point in the situation under discussion lies in the fact that the problem before us cannot be viewed as an isolated one. First of all, one may pose the following question: From now on institutions for learning and research will more and more have to be supported by grants from the state, since, for various reasons, private sources will not suffice. Is it at all reasonable that the distribution of the funds raised for these purposes from the taxpayer should be entrusted to the military? To this question every prudent person will certainly answer: "No!" For it is evident that the difficult task of the most beneficent distribution should be placed in the hands of people whose training and life's work give proof that they know something about science and scholarship.

If reasonable people nevertheless favor military agencies for the distribution of a major part of the available funds, the reason for this lies in the fact that they subordinate cultural concerns to their general political outlook. We must then focus our attention on these practical political viewpoints, their

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origins and their implications. In doing so we shall soon recognize that the problem here under discussion is but one of many, and can only be fully estimated and properly adjudged when placed in a broader framework.

The tendencies we have mentioned are something new for America. They arose when, under the influence of the two World Wars and the consequent concentration of all forces on a military goal, a predominantly military mentality developed, which with the almost sudden victory became even more accentuated. The characteristic feature of this mentality is that people place the importance of what Bertrand Russell so tellingly terms "naked power" far above all other factors which affect the relations between peoples. The Germans, misled by Bismarck's successes in particular, underwent just such a transformation of their mentality — in consequence of which they were entirely ruined in less than a hundred years.

I must frankly confess that the foreign policy of the United States since the termination of hostilities has reminded me, sometimes irresistibly, of the attitude of Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm II, and I know that, independent of me, this analogy has most painfully occurred to others as well. It is characteristic of the military mentality that non-human factors (atom bombs, strategic bas s, weapons of all sorts, the possession of raw materials, etc.) are held essential, while the human being, his desires and thoughts — in short, the psychological factors — are considered as unimportant and secondary. Herein lies a certain resemblance to Marxism, at least insofar as its theoretical side alone is kept in view. The individual is degraded to a mere instrument; he becomes "human materiel." The normal ends of human aspiration vanish with such a viewpoint. Instead, the military mentality raises "naked power" as a goal in itself — one of the strangest illusions to which men can succumb.

In our time the military mentality is still more dangerous than formerly because the offensive weapons have become much more powerful than the defensive ones. Therefore it leads, by necessity, to preventive war. The general insecurity that goes hand in hand with this results in the sacrifice of the citizen's civil rights to the supposed welfare of the state. Political witch-hunting, controls of all sorts (e.g., control of teaching and research, of the press, and so forth) appear inevitable, and for this reason do not encounter that popular resistance, which, were it not for the military mentality, would provide a protection. A reappraisal of all values gradually takes place insofar as everything that does not clearly serve the utopian ends is regarded and treated as inferior.

I see no other way out of prevailing conditions than a farseeing, honest and courageous policy with the aim of establishing security on supranational foundations. Let us hope that men will be found, sufficient in number and moral force, to guide the nation on this path so long as a leading rôle is imposed on her by external circumstances. Then problems such as have been discussed here will cease to exist.

Albert Einstein
Princeton, New Jersey

The Office of Naval Research

Dr. Ridenour's article is one of the most sensible public statements yet made on the deliberately provocative question of the danger to science from military intrusion. He has correctly quoted and interpreted the policy of the Office of Naval Research; and he writes from a standpoint free from any connections, so far as we are aware, with research financed by federal funds.

Nearly two years ago, the Navy embarked upon a plan to support fundamental research through an organization which has since been designated by statute as the Office of Naval Research. The end of the war was in sight, although three months were to elapse before VJ Day. The Office of Scientific Research and Development was reducing its activities. University staffs were scattered, and their laboratories were either depleted or transformed into engineering development workshops by the exigencies of war. Industry was anticipating the staggering problems of reconversion. The prospects of resuming true

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research work were dim, yet the lessons of war were clear to all but the most undiscerning: the knowledge accumulated by research had made possible the developments which so greatly hastened our victory, and the resumption of the advancement of knowledge was vital to our security, our economy and our national welfare.

No government agency existed for the purpose of extending federal support to basic research. Progress in creating a National Science Foundation was discouragingly (but understandably) slow. Something had to be done, however, and done quickly. It was under these circumstances that the Navy took the lead in making funds available for research.

Today a network of contracts is in operation in nearly all fields of physical and medical science. About three-quarters of the funds are placed with educational institutions. Not only is much significant research work being done, but also the shortage of scientists is being lessened by the employment of graduate students on many of these projects.

We wish to make it clear that there is no coercion, no interference, and a minimum of classification restriction in all this work. Proposals submitted to us are judged on their scientific merits by a competent staff of scientists and officers. The award of a contract is based on the known competence of the proposers, the amount of work already being financed in the same or contiguous fields, and the ever present considerations of budgetary limitations. Once an agreement has been reached, the contractor proceeds according to his own judgment, and the Office of Naval Research does not exercise supervision on scientific aspects except to share in decisions on major matters of policy, scope or aim.

A considerable amount of administrative work necessarily accompanies any government contract, and it is our aim to assist the contractor as much as possible in the fiscal, legal and operational aspects of the contract. Not the least of our assistance has been in the distribution of surplus equipment where most useful in various research projects.

Dr. Ridenour points out the danger of awarding funds on the basis of foreseeable military applications. This is closely related to the problem of secrecy. It would indeed be indefensible to expend naval funds for purely philanthropic purposes; some connection of the anticipated results with the national security must be recognized. But this is a very broad base. Few areas of endeavor are likely to be barren of results which affect the national defense.

The secrecy aspect is particularly vexing, since true scientific research is incompatible with any restrictions on the free flow of information. The arrangements we have found workable are as follows: The contractor is entirely free to publish the results of his work, but in his publications not to speculate upon its possible applications and naval or military developments. We expect that the scientists who are engaged on projects under naval sponsorship are as alert and as conscientious as we are to recognize the implications of their achievements, and that they are fully competent to guard the national interest. If a development emerges which should be classified, the contractor is given the option of proceeding with it under security restrictions, or having it removed from the campus to a government laboratory or to some other contractor. No one is asked to work in secret against his will.

It would be futile to pretend that the Army or Navy should remain the principal agencies for the federal support of basic research. We in the Office of Naval Research are constantly aware that, to a considerable degree, we are acting as interim trustees for the National Science Foundation of the future. When that agency is created, staffed, supplied with funds and ready for business, we expect to transfer to it a portion of the projects now on our books. But we believe it would be most unwise to transfer all of it, for it is vitally important that the Navy maintain close and responsible relationships with frontier research in all fields of science of any conceivable interest to the national defense. We have paid the price of neglect in the past, and the direct relationships we now have with the scientific fraternity must not be broken. What percentage of our program

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is appropriate for retention cannot be determined at this stage; it need not be great, but it must not be trivial.

The figure of $20,000,000 cited by Dr. Ridenour is approximately correct at the time of this writing. It is distributed among over 400 projects, over half of which are for $20,000 or less. The "big research," to use Dr. Ridenour's words, gets the big money, for much of it is in costly equipment; but "small research" is also present, and is aiding individuals and small groups throughout the country. It should also be noted that "big" projects are not supported in full, but that the institution concerned bears a substantial portion of the expense in nearly all cases.

We have at all times sought the advice of others. Expert consultants are now available to us through the contractual network. Branch offices have been established. A Naval Research Advisory Committee of distinguished men has been formed, by invitations extended under the authority of the law creating the office. This Committee has already studied the program in detail, and will keep the activities of the Office of Naval Research under continued scrutiny and review.

In conclusion, it must be realized that this is not an easy task. There are no precedents in government for the comprehensive support of basic research as contrasted with the extensive development and engineering experience of the Navy. We are, in a very real sense, pioneers in establishing and maintaining the relationships of science and government which are becoming so essential to our national life. Our mistakes as well as our success will provide eventual guidance for the National Science Foundation.

Alan T. Waterman
Chief Scientist
Office of Naval Research
Washington, D. C.

Robert D. Conrad
Captain, U.S.N.
Director of Planning Division
Office of Naval Research
Washington, D. C.

The Seven Propositions of Professor Ridenour

With great lucidity, Professor Ridenour summarizes present-day relations between scientists and the military in seven propositions: (1) the disinterested makers of policy in the Armed Services are deeply concerned with advancing free basic science; (2) the self-denying military see themselves as a useful stopgap pending the establishment of a federal civilian agency in support of research; (3) the large resources of the prosperous military are admirably suited to provide the big money needed for certain types of research; (4) the unintrusive military interfere with neither the choice of subjects for research nor the conduct of research; (5) scientists, young or old, well-endowed or not, have the unqualified option of refusing to be seduced into a life of secrecy by the munificent military — and, further, they enjoy complete safety from rape by the men in uniform; (6) the diversion of interest from basic to engineering research occurs only among those scientists predestinated to make that choice; and (7) research subsidized by the communicative military in time of peace need not entail secrecy.

Thus Professor Ridenour announces a momentous and largely unnoticed reversal of roles in the relations between scientists and the military. His image of a disinterested, self-denying, unintrusive, prosperous, munificent and communicative military placing themselves at the service of free basic science cannot but give heart to those scientists who have suffered from illusory contrast-images. To them, the quiet surrender of the Army and Navy to the men of science will be as welcome as it is unexpected.

In Professor Ridenour's world, men of war are strangely willing to yield their own professional interests to the internationalism of free science, which knows no national boundaries. In this world, the military eagerly expends substantial funds only to make the more certain a civilian agency which will, one must suppose, supplant their own war-oriented concerns with more peaceable types

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of research. Some scientists have evidently not caught up with this turn of affairs. Misunderstanding the disinterested purposes of the Armed Forces, they make the unpardonable error of seeking to have "the work to be done . . . related to a military or naval problem."

Indeed, scientists are not infrequently at fault. For despite the concern of the military with basic research, some scientists insist on rising to the lure of large research funds made available by the Services and turn away from science to "engineering work." But, as Professor Ridenour points out, these men have only themselves to blame. For, like the members of a more ancient profession, their behavior testifies that eventually they would have given way to temptation.

However, young scientists who wish only to set about their business of basic research have little to fear from refusing the largess of the Armed Services. Whether they seek fellowships or research appointments, they may, if they wish, confidently turn away from research supported by the military without incurring more than a nod of approval by their heavily subsidized superiors in the academic bureaucracy.

But perhaps the finest moment of creative imagination in Professor Ridenour's essay is to be found in his allusion to scientific research supported by the Armed Forces and "done without restrictions of secrecy."

Soldiers and sailors who read Professor Ridenour's account may uneasily suggest a more appropriate title: "Should the Military Resist the Intrusion of Scientists?"

Social scientists who read the account may ask: Can this be really so? And, in seeking an answer, some may request the Armed Services to support an objective empirical inquiry among a representative sample of the nation's scientists who have worked with the support of the military in order to determine how much of Professor Ridenour's world is fancy and how much, fact.

Robert K. Merton

Associate Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Facts and Values

The clear and persuasive paper of Professor Ridenour has evoked on the whole favorable comments from Dr. Bush, Dr. Young, and my colleague, Professor Seymour Harris. These may be summarized by saying that Dr. Bush is convinced that, in the light of his own broad experience, science has little to fear from crippling of its freedom by military restrictions attached to grants for "pure research." Dr. Young wants to extend the range of research, and views the government as the natural source for its support, even in the social sciences. Professor Harris feels that our outlay for research has been scandalously small and takes the realistic view that, as long as we are in what is, certainly so far, a power struggle with Russia, our best protection is to keep ahead.

On the other hand, Professor Morrison fears the enveloping atmosphere of military control, the misinformation of the taxpayer that is involved by vulgarizing the contributions of science to our defense, and the danger that foreign nations (not specified) will be frightened by a billion spent on military research. He is at least as much concerned about the "creaming" of potential students by the Navy, and probably soon to be paralleled by the Army.

Professor Wiener's objections are twofold. He objects to the indiscriminate clapping of restrictions on free research; and he distrusts military control. This distrust is illustrated by his classic sentence: "If our little boy is beset by bullies, we may teach him how to box, but we do not give him a razor to carry." He does not believe that the military are to be trusted, since they have used the atomic bomb.

Any analysis of this basic issue depends upon two sets of problems: one is in terms of fact, and the other is in terms of value.

I submit that the facts are about as follows, and that this statement might command — at least up to its final statement of Russian behavior — general assent even from physical scientists, who are much more conversant with the facts of laboratories and experimental control of matter than with the forces of politics.

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Few doubt that we are at the present time confronted with a problem in the control of atomic energy that is somewhat different from the relation of a small boy to bullies. It involves the possibility of the destruction of a considerable part of civilization, if a solution is not reached; or, alternatively, the possibility of a prolonged period of armed suspense between systems which have not been able to agree upon a common and secure method of preventing the use of atomic energy for purposes of destruction.

So long as the latter situation exists — and it must exist until a common formula of control has been accepted and, beyond question, put into workable operation — not only the scientist, but the whole industrial structure of the United States and probably of other world powers, will be increasingly geared into a military system capable of acting on a moment's notice. It is not "pure" science alone that is endangered. The whole range of industrial and technical know-how in the world becomes a military factor. The presence of potential Fifth Columnists is a matter of uniquely perilous concern. Unless we assume the pacifist philosophy that the best defense is no defense, the growth of military controls and an increasingly totalitarian temper would seem to the political scientist inevitable. The pacifist attitude is not likely to triumph, for reasons that are beyond the scope of this short summary. But I think they are not likely to be disputed.

Now for the more doubtful factors: on the evidence so far the Russian system is quite unwilling, except for purposes of tactical delay and propaganda, to discuss with an open mind, and much less really to institute, any international control that would effectively insure the security of other systems against the possibilities of the misuse of atomic energy for military purposes by the Soviet system, or that would prevent the unlimited development of atomic energy within that system. We cannot, of course, close the books on this without further efforts to persuade the Politburo to change the attitude that has been publicly and repeatedly expressed by Mr. Gromyko as their official policy. In the meantime, we must accept the facts as they appear to be.

Now for the question of value: if the facts are as stated, we have as one alternative, the maintenance of an "open system," based upon the unsubsidized (by government) operations of independent researchers in science, not geared into defense programs. This is obviously a more attractive world in which to live, both for scientists and for citizens who are persuaded of the values of liberalism in the enduring sense of that term. If academic and scientific "freedom" are the highest values, and life is not worth living without them — and if they are "absolute" values — perhaps this is the right line. On the other hand, so to act is to take certain grave risks about the survival of our whole system. We should definitely have to accept the inability of that system to prevent incursions on the freedoms of other systems as well as our own, or to protect the prospects of a world order, based upon the freedom of nations and their common acceptance of law by consent.

The other alternative is to say that our system is worth putting as far as possible beyond the reach of intimidation and in the position of supporting a workable system of protection of international law and justice. We *may* lose our freedoms in a struggle to maintain this kind of world — a struggle which is not of our own choosing. We certainly lose freedom for the world if we let it go by default.

To rely upon (a) scrapping our A-bombs, (b) professions of outlawry by treaty of atomic energy for war purposes, and (c) the good faith of a totalitarian system — all of which we are urged to do by the Party-line followers — would appear in terms of value to gamble with our national survival, certainly with our future as a world power and the protector of the system of human rights.

When Professor Wiener and his fellows among the scientists are prepared to demonstrate for us a world order that differs from the facts of a conflict of two great world systems, in their struggle for what may be the future of science as well as the human soul, then we may be able to bring science back into its free role. Until that time, we cannot entrust ourselves to a prescription by or for "small boys." We shall have to assume

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the responsibilities of maturity in a most unpleasant world until we are able to change it and establish the conditions of moral order that can bring under control the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, who are still riding.

William Y. Elliott
Professor of Government
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

A Primary Influence Ignored

A rival picture-poetry to Dr. Ridenour's lissome phrases need not be attempted in a three-hundred-word ambit. Apart from this particular charm, the Spring Forum was bereft of force and interest because of its lack of orientation with respect to a primary influence. The omission raises a second, more fascinating question.

I assume no competent, sincere evaluation of Kremlin ambitions fails to list them among the primary influences of earth's current politics. I am not referring to convictions one way or the other as to whether these influences should be accepted or parried by any state, but simply to their existence and importance. In the Spring Forum, four of the five scientists did not mention the Kremlin or allude to it affirmatively. Dr. Bush's remarks alone imply the cogency of its influence. The sixth reporter, notably an economist, paid the Kremlin sufficient service to dispel the thought that Forum policy might have deemed it best unmentioned at the moment. Unoriented with respect to this primary influence, the Forum immediately lost momentum and clarity.

Until recently, no matter how badly men treated each other, Nature exceeded man as man's worst enemy. In an economy of abundance, it is clear that Nature will have yielded to man as the chief threat to a generous human survival. The world looks again in desperation to the scientific mind and method for leadership, as contrasted, let us say, to that of inveterate politics. Will the same type of mind and thinking prove as competent against the ills of man's mind as against those of his body? — against those of his heart as against the tribulations meted out by Nature?

For evidence upon this question, the world will carefully ponder the word of every scientist joining public debate. When he accepts scrutiny in the new field of human relations, the scientist will surely need all the cunning in the detection, identification, evaluation and utilization of primary influences which characterized his efforts and successes in the older, technological battle. His is an analytical mind, dispassionate, unbiased and presumably capable of healthful, constructive thinking in any field. Surely we may hope that the failure of his art in the Spring Forum is an exception to its intrinsic powers.

Douglas P. Adams
Assistant Professor of Graphical Mathematics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass.

A Positive Program of Research for Peace

The military are "intruding" into science, because they hope that an increase in knowledge will lead to the development of more effective weapons. Scientists are advised by Dr. Ridenour to "resist intrusion" to the extent that it threatens to degrade pure science into mere engineering. By Professor Wiener, they are advised to resist it absolutely and unequivocally, on moral grounds.

This negative procedure of "resistance to intrusion" requires, it seems to me, to be supplemented by some form of positive action, designed to offset the military program of research for war, and to render it unnecessary.

The present predicament of the human species can be summed up in a few sentences. (1) The two and two-tenths billion inhabitants of the planet do not have enough to eat, and by the end of the present century their numbers will have increased to three and three-tenths billions. (2) Over the greater part of the earth, soil erosion is rampant. (3) Western industrial civilization is based upon the exploitation of wasting assets. What we call "prosperity" is the consequence of rapidly dissipating our planetary capital.

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(4) When they are found in an industrialized country, hunger and a shortage of raw materials lead to aggression. Where the industrial means to aggression are lacking, they lead to unrest, anarchy and to that end-product of anarchy, tyranny. (5) Democracy cannot flourish in a country where population presses heavily upon resources. The twentieth century is an age of dictatorship, because it is an age of planetary overcrowding. There is not, as in the past, a Virgin New World to relieve the mounting pressure. (6) Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and South America have very high birth rates. Western Europe, Australasia and North America have low birth rates. In the context of modern nationalism, these differences constitute a standing invitation to aggression and preventive war.

Political foresight and a rational planning of human destinies are possible only in a world where population is stable, and where birth rates and death rates are uniformly low. Hence the need for an international population policy. But such a policy, even if adopted tomorrow, would not take effect (owing to the large numbers in the reproductive age groups) for at least two generations. In the interval we can merely palliate the political and economic symptoms of the underlying demographical crisis. Workers in pure and applied science should combine, it seems to me, to plan a program of research aimed at removing some at least of the present causes of war and tyranny.

(1) Basic research in chemistry and biology might result, among other things, in the discovery of methods for producing foodstuffs artificially, e.g., through the synthesis of chlorophyll. (2) Less basic research might show how many agricultural wastes could be converted into nutrient solutions for edible yeasts. (3) A long-range study should be undertaken of the means whereby our industrial civilization could be shifted to a foundation less precarious than the exploitation of rapidly dwindling mineral deposits. The aim should be to find surrogates which can be produced from raw materials that are practically inexhaustible. A similar research should be undertaken into universally available sources of power, such as the wind and the sun. Power sources such as petroleum, coal and uranium are natural monopolies, whose possession by a strong country is a temptation to aggression, by a weak country an invitation to exploitation by the strong.

If drawn up by an international body of scientific workers and presented to the various electorates of the world, a program of this kind should be certain of popular (though not necessarily of governmental or military) support. For on one thing at least, all human beings are agreed: they want to have enough to eat. Men can get on very well without atomic energy; but they cannot dispense with bread.

Aldous Huxley
Wrightwood, California

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

Climate of Fact

The phrase "climate of opinion" has been rendered almost a standard part of the language, largely, I think, because of the currency given to it by Alfred North Whitehead. But there is a climate of fact, too, a weather of events by which even the most hardy or the most weatherbeaten are affected. Only three years ago, and it was not yet D Day on the coasts of Normandy; and no one knew and everyone lived in suspense as to when that day would be. Only two years ago, and it began to look like the beginning of the end of the war in Japan. And just a little later, the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima.

It is not only the climate of opinion that has changed, though the tone of things that it is common now, and was not common then, to say about Russia, for instance, has altered. But the facts about Russia and about many things, besides, have altered, too. Events shape not so much the direction as the range and area of our opinions. A world with atomic bombs in it, with postwar near-famine in most continents, with quarrels over Germany and over China and over Greece, with strikes at home and power politics in action abroad — this is, willy nilly, the climate of fact in which we live. In more restricted fields a new atmosphere of fact is present, too; the colleges now have veterans in mufti where they once had soldiers in uniform. Where three years ago there were no students to be found, there are now not enough teachers to be discovered. Three years ago there were shortages of everything from shirts to cigarettes; and now we begin to hear of collapsing markets and recession.

I have in my professional capacity talked a good deal about the necessity of detachment from the flux of events, and the possibility of attaining such detachment through philosophy. But what mind is unaffected by the vantage or disadvantage ground of the immediate present? The most age-spanning geological theory is uttered always in some here and now. Etruscan monuments are long since gone and remain a great mystery still. But a monograph on them published in 1947 would perhaps subtly reveal in some turn of phrase the date of the author's writing and the climate of present fact in which he looked at those remote inscrutable memorials.

Weather in the Soul

There is weather in the spirit, too — often not directly traceable to the climate of fact. Who has not known a period of, say, a day, a week, a month, when everything seemed to go wrong, and nothing seemed to come out right? Life seems sometimes in a hundred exasperating little ways to be a conspiracy organized by one's own innocent and put-upon self. Work piles up in one dreadful and urgent mountain; a cold comes that cannot be thrown off; friends seem to clutter up one's week with a miscellany of obligations. A class, perhaps, or a succession of classes, in which the students seem singularly apathetic, and oneself preternaturally stupid. Then suddenly the weather clears, and suddenly "mood and moment please" and one can "glimpse the fair Pierides."

Strength of Fools

I have a friend with whom I have had gentlemen's disagreements these many years about social and political and philosophical

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matters. He simply persists in having the wrong opinions, and, what is worse, repeatedly proffering them to me. It is, I have found, of little use to point out to him the errors of his intellectual ways. I remain astonished at his opaqueness to the clear paths to the improvement of his understanding which I have mapped out for him. He is simply and smugly and literally incorrigible. One would think that by this time he would see the good sense of my opinions instead of remaining obdurately fixed in his own ways, as an Irish friend of mine puts it: "like a pig at a dance." As for me, I have never understood why he does not admire my laudable consistency. I am irritated that he does not marvel at the way in which I so many years ago lighted upon the unmistakable truth. He is very stubborn, really, and perversely blind. He is visiting me tonight. I must try just once again.

On Hearing a Pin Drop

Many of the readers of The American Scholar must have had the experience, at once quiet and tense, of sitting before a microphone in a radio studio in the thirty seconds before a program is about to go on the air. It makes no difference whether one is participating in the program or not. There is an awed hush about the studio, as if it were the eve of a transcendental revelation, as if at the end of half a minute some final insight or ultimate judgment were to be delivered. There are other reasons for the tension, of course. Everyone present, including the hardboiled radio engineers and the casually calloused announcers have the terrible fear (immortalized in many a classic radio anecdote) that some untoward word, some *negligé* private observation, intended for the intimacy of the studio or the control room only, may be heard by thousands or millions over a national network.

It is bad enough if one is only a visitor, but it is worse by far, as I have found out, if one is actually participating on a broadcast. In some ways, speaking over the radio is the least taxing of forms of public address. It is hardly necessary to raise one's voice; the radio engineers take care of that. If there is no studio audience, it is as simple as soliloquizing in a study. But in the moment just before going on the air, there comes a terrible brief *crise de nerfs*. In a moment one is going to speak into the unknown, and perhaps split an infinitive in the ears of who knows how many, who knows where. If it is a program without a script, the thought comes: "Suppose, with all those listening ears, I shall have *nothing* at all to say." In the excitement, it hardly enters the mind that there may not *be* any listening ears.

The minute before going off the air is equally tense, too. There is a tradition in radio that one must hit it on the nose, and end promptly with the sharply defined half hour of the radio clock. And then the uneasy tiny interval. Is one off the air yet or not? Dare one speak in normal relaxed tones? Is it certain that there are but a handful of flesh and blood listeners, not the assumed ghostly millions? "You could hear a pin drop" used to be the last word about silence. A new metaphor is now in order: "It was silent in the room, as if everyone in it were about to go on the air." I presume you are not allowed to drop a pin in a radio studio. Probably it sounds like the clang of a prison gate.

Hardy Perennial

Many things are going to be normal again, including the academic calendar. Commencements will flourish again this year, and the Commencement orators will flourish, too. The tone, I suspect, will be more Cassandra than Pollyanna, or even Matthew Arnold, this year. Sweetness and light will yield place to warnings and alarums. I wonder if it will really make much difference to the young in any case. The Commencement address — dare I say it in these pages, even the Phi Beta Kappa oration — is part of the time-honored ritual (like the word "time-honored"). Eloquence on such occasions has a certain suasion, and wit — possibly because it is not anticipated — is doubly welcome. Once in a century an address may be a classic, like Emerson's "The American Scholar" or, to a lesser degree, Woodrow Wilson's neglected classic "The Spirit of Learning." But I cannot believe that the

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young generally are much affected by the substance of what is said on such occasions. The newest Phi Beta Kappa members are still too set up by their recent distinction, the current bachelors of arts by their immediate problems of love or their summer jobs. They are accustomed to the voice of Polonius among the older generation, whether it be disguised as Cassandra or Pollyanna.

In my own college generation, the tone of Commencement addresses was generally optimistic; today it is likely to be grim and foreboding. The young were not too much impressed then, nor will they be too much depressed now. But people miss a great many sermons in church these days. It is good to have a secular sermon now and then, particularly in the long slanting light of a late afternoon in June, outdoors on an ivy-clad campus, in the shadow of a chapel. It makes no difference what the tone of the address; the tones themselves, albeit of a trustee, at such a time, in such a place, in such a mood, are musical.

Quieter, Please

The other day I picked up an earnest noncommercial periodical which boasted an article whose title contained the phrase: "dynamic democracy." There are certain words that have come to be used in our time as terms of implied moral praise. "Dynamic" is one of these, "vitality" another, and "life" itself is intended to connote a value and a good. I confess these words always make me a little uneasy. They are practically accusations of lethargy and deliberate torpor. At the end of a long day or at the beginning of a rainy one, to pick up an essay that feverishly exhorts one to "dynamic democracy" or to "vital philosophy" or to "living thought" or to "creative individuality" is a shock and a kind of indictment. As this is written, it is a dark, dull, foggy morning without the slightest trace of anything "dynamically creative" or "vital" about it — or in my own psyche. I know if I were worth preserving in the world, I should snap into "creativeness" and burst with "dynamicness." I often envy the writers of such homilies, though I cannot help wishing some of the qualities they recommend would overflow into their own prose. The tones in which they counsel such exuberant virtues are like the tones in the sky this morning.

By the time these lines get into print, I hope everybody, including the reader, is feeling "dynamic"; that is the "vital" thought with which I should like to close these meditations for the quarter.

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Lullaby for a Daughter

Virginia Esterly Dunbar

Mouse to the hole, bird to the bough,
Fish to the deep of the pool,
All that trot, fly, sing, now
Must take to the dark and the cool.

Leaf, vine, reed, flower
And diving root, be still
Through this one midsummer hour,
On this one sunburned hill.

All strong scents, all sweet shrub, pine,
Be muted now, be bland,
That none find heady passage on
Some quick and willful wind.

Round sun and driven cloud
Be stone upon a sky,
For I must make my child a proud
And silent lullaby.

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And the Child

Virginia Esterly Dunbar

Safe beneath the yellow wheat
Safe beneath the corn
The field mice go on tiny feet,
The hoppers in the hollows meet,
The lizards in the thorn.

Among the trellis where the grapes
Hang like purple pods
The spiders walk on thready drapes,
The nestlings preen their feather capes,
The crickets stand like rods.

Each little thing is safe and whole
And fruit grows out of bloom:
The cotton ripening on the boll,
The limber beans against the pole,
And the turning child in the womb.

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The Snake

Virginia Esterly Dunbar

Among the underbrush the snake
Lifted its dappled head
And wonderful within its wake
The furrowed dust lines led
To the lilied shore of the lake.

There like a moon the serpent coiled,
He shone like a silver ring
And the lake's light and the sun's were spoiled
Beside that shining thing
As singing-simple as a child.

And then I knew why sweet Eve fell
And how a girl so young
Could take for sinlessness the spell
Of the quick and slender tongue
And the tremor that shook the silver scale.

◎ The work of VIRGINIA ESTERLY DUNBAR has been published in the *Yale Review*, *Southwest Review*, *Sewanee Review*, *Christian Science Monitor* and *Voices*.

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The Revolving Bookstand

Books About Russia

Joseph Barnes

The Soviet Impact on the Western World, by E. H. Carr. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75.
America and Russia in the World Community, by Harold H. Fisher. Claremont College, California. $2.50.
Russia and Britain, by Edward Crankshaw. New York: Hastings House. $2.50.
History of Russia, by Sir Bernard Pares. Revised edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf & Co. $5.00.
Soviet Politics At Home and Abroad, by Frederick L. Schuman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf & Co. $4.00.
The Development of the Soviet Economic System, by Alexander Baykov. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. $7.50.
Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture, by Gregory Bienstock. Solomon M. Schwarz and Aaron Yugow. New York: Oxford University Press. $3.00.
The Year of Stalingrad, by Alexander Werth. London: Hamish Hamilton. 15 shillings. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf & Co. $6.00.)
Through Russia's Back Door, by Richard E. Lauterbach. New York: Harper & Brothers. $2.75.

The legend that Russia is an insoluble riddle dies hard. It is old in time, as wide as the map of Europe and Asia, and as deep in men's minds as the great blow with which the Tartars cleaved the medieval world in two. Renaissance and Reformation, the rise of nations and the age of discovery, wove some kind of common pattern to the west of the dividing line cut by the descendants of Genghiz Khan. On the east of that line, there was no sharing of these experiences. Men who were already Christians and traders and artisans struggled for more than two hundred years to throw out the invaders and found a modern nation. We now call this same line a curtain, but it is important to remember that it was made by men moving away from it, on both sides, and not — like the Great Wall of China — by labor and design.

What manner of men live behind it has puzzled the rest of the world since long before 1917, and neither Tsar nor Bolshevik has done much to help us find out. But a true riddle exists as much in the mind of the observer as in what is outside and before him. (The Russians have never written books called *The Riddle of the West.*) Our western culture has found it useful to several of our purposes to keep alive for many generations a belief that we live in a world with barbarians who are enigmatic beyond the limits of rational understanding. That usefulness has been dwindling steadily for years, until Hiroshima destroyed it as completely, if not as spectacularly, as it destroyed its Japanese counterpart. From now on, we can regard Russia as an insoluble riddle only at the peril of our lives.

Perhaps there is no need to. A recent spate of sensational books about the iron curtain and the mysteries which lie behind it are, at their very worst, a cheap price to pay for freedom of discussion. At their very best, they may serve a temporary function in a democratic society by checking complacency in a difficult period of postwar change and readjustment. It is also true that these sensational disclosures of "the truth about Russia" seldom achieve a stupidity as monu-

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© JOSEPH BARNES, foreign editor and former Moscow correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, is the translator of Konstantine Simonov's novel, *Days and Nights*.

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"For one word a man is often deemed to be wise, and for one word he is often deemed to be foolish."

Confucius

Be wise - - -
Consult

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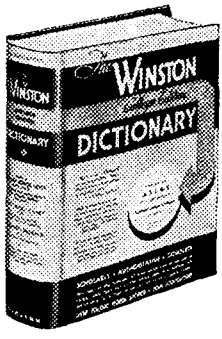

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mental as that with which the Russians make it difficult for honest men to understand them. But our western traditions of scholarship and good reporting and empirical investigation have already begun to reassert themselves after the hiatus of war and despite all the official obstacles contrived in Moscow. It is already difficult for an honest American, without the Russian language but with time and the will to read and what Graham Wallas called standards of social judgment, to claim that a fair measure of understanding of the Soviet Union and the Russian people is impossible.

The books listed above are evidence of this. Three are by native-born Americans, three by native-born Britishers, three by men whose lives have cut across the iron curtain. Not one of them is a Communist. All of them know Russia, however, and all of them know the Russian language well enough to use it as a tool for scholarship or journalism. It follows from this that all of them have a certain sympathy for their subject. They are interested in it. Some of them run, I suppose, the inevitable risk of being called "fellow travelers." But the company with which they travel seems to me that of Mackenzie Wallace or George Kennan, both of whom disliked many aspects of Russian society under the Tsars but still studied and wrote with cool dispassion, and laid, between them, the foundations for all Russian studies in England and America.

(It is perhaps also worth noting, as a minor commentary on the problems in achieving international understanding, that as this review is written, five of the nine volumes are difficult to obtain in New York, either because American editions have been so long delayed or because of their academic sponsorship. A good bookstore can order and secure them all, but by no means every bookstore has them.)

The most ambitious of these books is also the shortest. Professor Carr's latest book, which is actually a series of lectures given at Oxford in 1946, assumes a give-and-take between the Russians and ourselves, in the world of ideas, which has already grown beyond mere exploration. On the one hand, he demonstrates that the Soviet system is no

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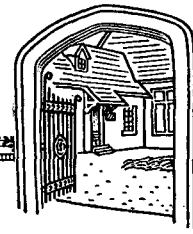

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—•—

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Marie Kimball — twice awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for her work on this biography — has gone back past the canards of Jefferson's many bitter political campaigns to the historical facts. Her book contains an extraordinary amount of material hitherto wholly unpublished, making it indispensable for a true understanding of Jefferson's personality, career and influence on American history.

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monstrous apparition out of deepest Asia, but a society stemming directly out of Western experience and fumbling with problems common to us all. On the other hand, he tries to measure the influence on our Western way of life, and on our economic, political and social ideas, of the Russians' struggle for a "democracy" of their own.

He rates this influence high. Professor Carr is a former official of the British Foreign Office and a leader-writer for the *Times* of London, and he is not an orthodox Marxist. This short, provocative book makes it clear that he sees the initiative in much modern social and economic thinking as already Russian. This neither elates nor discourages him; he accepts it as one of the facts of the modern world. Ideological conflict between two societies seems to him no guaranty of war, or even of the victory of one set of ideas over the other. He speculates instead on the compromises inevitable for both, and on the rigidities which both we and the Russians will have to abandon, whether we want to or not.

His book will irritate many American readers. The process of social change may seem more clear and inescapable to men in Great Britain today than it does in the United States. There is a small but growing number of British scholars who have moved a long way toward working out an acceptance of change itself as the basis for a new kind of stability. Professor Carr is one of them. Even if our own country still has a stability denied now to most of western Europe, his tentative report on what is happening to the ideas with which we live has importance for Americans as well as for Englishmen. His book gives a clear picture of the system of values the Russians are slowly working out on the basis of Marxism, Leninism and manifold heavy borrowings from Europe and America. It also indicates the degree to which the pressures of the modern world have already driven much closer together this new, evolving system of values, and other, older patterns of behavior and ideas in what we call the West. This book does little more than sketch the outlines of the interaction between these societies, but it is an immensely suggestive and, on the whole,

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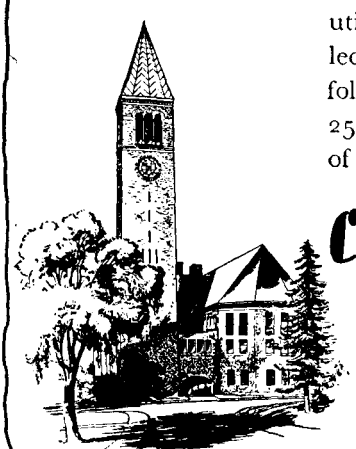

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heartening treatment of the "challenge and response" inherent in all our relations with Russia from now on.

Two other books belong in the same category, since they are equally foreshortened scholarship, although they tell simpler stories. H. H. Fisher is director of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, where he has organized what is perhaps the greatest modern Slavic collection of books outside Russia. Edward Crankshaw was in Russia during the war as a military attaché. Each has told the history of his country's relations with Russia in terms almost as honest and objective as if there were no class war, no power politics, no wars or threats of war, and never had been. Both are also beautifully written. Mr. Crankshaw's book has the advantage of the best illustrations I have ever seen in a book about Russia. They range from the *boyars* who welcomed the first British voyagers to Muscovy, to the florid modern paintings of over-happy collective farmers hailing their leader, Generalissimo Stalin, and they tell almost as much about the kind of country Russia is as Mr. Crankshaw's prose.

It is a fact that Russia is the only major power with which the United States has never been legally at war. It is not a fact, but a tenable assumption, that the great driving forces inside both Russia and the United States may lead both countries, over the long pull, along courses which cannot conflict in war. This is the basis of the optimism in Dr. Fisher's study of our relations with Russia. He does not mimimize the risks involved: on the one hand, the Bolsheviks' former commitment to a dream of world revolution may still be present in a latent form, and on the other hand, an "American Century," jet-propelled by another major depression, might lead us into a new-style imperialist expansion which would threaten Russia. But Dr. Fisher knows that present-day Soviet patriotism, for all its bluster, is the creation of men who believe in "socialism in one country." He knows the cost of the last war to Russia, and the probable magnitude of the effort now being demanded of the Russian people to reconstruct their country. He shrewdly places large emphasis on China, as

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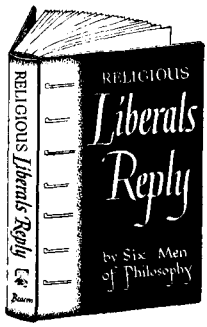

Arthur E. Murphy, Cornell; M. C. Otto, University of Wisconsin; Roy Wood Sellars, University of Michigan; Henry N. Wieman, University of Chicago; Gardner Williams, University of Toledo; the late James Bissett Pratt, Williams College.

In the same field

THE FAITH OF AN UNREPENTANT LIBERAL by A. Powell Davies (a Book-of-the-Month-Club recommendation): 124 pages. $1.50

VOICES OF LIBERALISM by 17 authors, first of an annual series—"Another . . . definite and challenging declaration," *The New York Times.* 220 pages. $2.00.

the country where our mutual need for non-conflicting national policies is most urgent.

Much the same point of view is to be found in the new material added to the latest revised edition of Sir Bernard Pares' *History of Russia.* This has been the best history of Russia in English since it was first published in 1926. Sir Bernard Pares is the founder of the School of Slavonic Studies at London University, and this book is the distillation of all that is best in British historical scholarship on Russia. The main body of the text is a surprisingly fascinating story to those who think Russian history began in 1917, and a treasure house of careful documentation for others who know how many of the features of Soviet life and politics have their origin deep in the Russian past.

Sir Bernard's most recent revision brings his book up through World War II and into the tortured business of making peace. Considering the authority of their author, these new sections have the importance of a new and separate book. His treatment of the recent past is based on the same cautious optimism to be found in Fisher and Crankshaw. He knows that the Russians under Stalin are unlikely to be content with minor-power status. He outlines the historical reasons for the Russians' nervousness about their "security orbit" without forgetting that it is only an historical argument in a world which must now forget its historical fears.

Frederick Schuman's book has little of the lean and careful language of these historians, but it is a fascinating and important attempt to unwrap the Russian riddle. The attempt is planned on the grand scale, and carried on with enthusiasm and some invective. The author goes back into Russian history and to the Russian land for part of his explanation, but other parts he finds in Freudian interpretation of political behavior, in revisionist Marxism, and in the diplomatic history of our times. This is an ambitious book, and it will probably comfort more readers who think they already understand Russia than it will satisfy those who complain they don't. But it is well-documented and carefully done, and there are previews of the next atomic war thrown in for anyone who

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None of these has the scholarly authority of Alexander Baykov, whose latest book on the Soviets is the fruit of a lifetime's careful study. It is by no means a defense of the Soviet system, yet it is honest, painstakingly fair, and as complete as any single volume can possibly be on such a subject. It is not easy reading. The development of the Soviet economic system has witnessed more jerks and starts even than the diplomatic history of modern Russia, and to iron these out into a coherent story requires a detailed examination not only of how the system works but also of the theory behind its working. But it is eminently worth reading for those who care to know what makes the system work. Communists and those who believe in the simple theory of the slave state will alike find little reinforcement from this book. It is rather a quiet, patient examination of the elaborate interplay of theory and experience, the slow bending of theory to meet what Lenin called "stubborn facts," and the gradual development of a working system which managed to finance and equip a great military victory, and which, for all its faults, still manages to feed and house and clothe — however badly — some 200,000,000 people.

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Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture, which is the joint product of three members of the faculty of the New School of Social Research in New York, is a more modest undertaking — but an even more rewarding book for those who want to understand how socialism works without too detailed an analysis of its complex structure. This is a book which is full of sharp criticism of Soviet administrative methods, sometimes bordering on hostility, but which is equally full of penetrating insight. Perhaps its most interesting feature is its documented recognition of the paradox that the world's first socialist state has developed individual incentives as powerful as the bourgeois world in its first fine flush of power.

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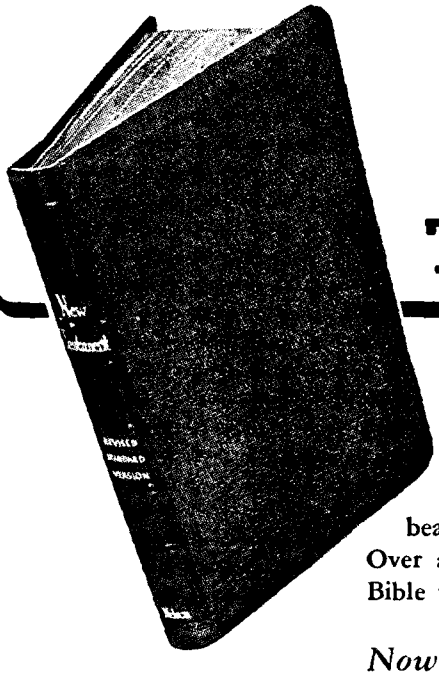

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people who live it. It was unitary to nearly all Russians in 1942, which was probably the blackest and hardest and greatest year in modern Russian history. For in that year the Red Army was driven back to the Volga River, the Nazis came within measurable distance of encircling Moscow and ending the war in the East, and hunger, cold and misery lay heavy over Russia. It was also in that year that the Russians struck back, wiping out an entire German army before Stalingrad, and shared with the Americans in the Pacific and North Africa, and the British in Cirenaica, the turning of the tide toward victory. Alexander Werth, a Russian-born Britisher who was then working in Moscow for the British Broadcasting Corporation, has told the story of that year in *The Year of Stalingrad*, and I know no better single book for anyone who wants to understand the Russians.

Werth has employed a novel technique of sandwiching his comments on that fateful year with the actual diary entries he made at the time. This gives his book a powerful emotional tone, recapturing the feelings which each retreat, with its new place names in the Red Army communiques, evoked in men who could not have spelled the names of the cities lost, in countries far from Russia. But underneath this emotion there is the cool, sane judgment of an extremely skilled observer, who was equipped as few men in history have been — with language, reporter's training, friends and curiosity — to chronicle a great event in a nation's history.

Like all other foreign correspondents, Werth saw the front itself only when the Red Army had begun to bend it backward toward Germany. He had no exclusive interviews with Stalin or Molotov. He read the papers, scrounged for food and vodka in the Metropole Hotel, went to concerts, talked with friends, rode the trolleys, and tried to figure out what was happening. He is one of the rare men who are bilingual not only in speech but in idiom and way of thinking, and his book is perhaps the truest, the most exciting and the most informing account of the Russian war we are likely to see for at least a generation.

Finally, for readers who are skeptical of

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philosophers and historians, experts and economists, there are still other books about Russia which are by people exactly like ourselves. One of them is Richard Lauterbach's account of a trip last summer through all of Russia, from Vladivostok through Moscow to the new Poland. He traveled alone, with a camera, a speaking knowledge of the Russian language, and a good American newspaperman's inexhaustible stock of questions. He came out with some excellent, unposed pictures, and with an account of postwar Russia which has all the drabness, all the lack of paint, all the dirt and the poverty and the honesty and strength of the Russia which he saw. The Red Army general who crossed most of two continents in his pajamas is no more and no less credible than the officials who gave Mr. Lauterbach their inimitable brand of double talk, or the peasant soldiers who told him they liked Americans and wanted no part of any war with us. All together add up to a picture which may be confusing and often contradictory, like that of any great nation. But it is no riddle, unless fear and hysteria lead us to throw away these assets of scholarship and journalism which are our greatest strength.

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THE REVOLVING BOOKSTAND will present Joseph A. Brandt as guest reviewer.

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OUR READERS COMMENT

Posing a Prior Problem

To the Editor: It has been my pleasure to have just completed reading the Winter 1946–47 issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR for the first time. I wish to express admiration for its forthrightness and gratification at its readability. The non-professional reader, of course, expects to find — and does too often — dry-as-dust, overly abstract writing in "scholastic" publications. I was happy to find your columns full of the complete opposite.

In taking advantage of your invitation to offer comments concerning the American Scholar Forum, I wish to emphasize my desire to provide facts and constructive criticism. Doctors Solomon and Woodruff, Mr. Bryan and you have performed a public service in presenting the arguments on all sides of a question which is becoming daily more important to the American people.

Comment: p. 102, Mr. Solomon's rebuttal, para. 4. "General coverage is not possible, except at high premium rates which can be paid only by those who need relief least."

Rates for prepaid hospitalization (Blue Cross) average $25 a year for family coverage with rates for prepaid medical/surgical coverage almost the same. That amounts to $50 a year for both, certainly not "high premium rates." Statistics from the Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1944–45* indicate that slightly more than half of the families in the nation have annual incomes in excess of $1500 a year. As a nation we spend 4% of income for medical care. Applying that percentage to the $1500 a year (bottom) family income figure, we come up with $60 which would indicate that more than half of the nation *can* afford prepaid hospitalization and medical/surgical coverage.

Comment: p. 102, para. 4. "In 1945, 2,600,000 persons were enrolled in medical society prepayment plans. Another 2,600,000 are probably enrolled in prepayment plans of other types."

On January 1, 1946, 2,277,874 persons were enrolled in the then thirty-one medical/surgical care plans co-ordinated with Blue Cross hospital service plans. Enrollment in the *forty-eight* Blue Cross-co-ordinated medical/surgical plans on January 1, 1947 was 4,185,000.

The foregoing total enrollment in medical/

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surgical care plans compares with a membership of 25,876,000 in Blue Cross plans. This variance in membership is not caused by lack of interest on the part of the public. The simple explanation is that the development of medical care plans has followed that of Blue Cross plans by several years. Growth of medical plans almost exactly parallels that of Blue Cross hospital service plans during the first years of their existence. Enrollment in the Western New York Medical Plan on October 1, 1946 was 91,926, rather than the 40,000 figure which Dr. Solomon quoted.

Into the discussion of government operation of prepaid health care plans should be brought the assertion that proponents of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill are talking about a program impossible of either government or private administration. Prepaid health care across the board — hospitalization, medical and surgical service, dentistry, nursing services, optometric service, etc. — cannot be administered on a sound actuarial basis, because there is experience in only two of the fields covered: hospitalization and medical/surgical prepayment.

Further, it is a physical impossibility to actually provide the care which would be necessary, and which would be expected to be available if a program of compulsory taxation were adopted. Medical personnel and equipment, hospital facilities, dental facilities, simply are not in existence in sufficient quantity and with enough training and experience to operate a full-blown program of complete coverage for all America.

Here is a prior problem which must be solved — and solved immediately, regardless of the nature of prepayment programs. But until it has been solved it is misleading the people even to bring up for serious congressional consideration a proposal which promises something which cannot be delivered.

Again, let me express my pleasure at "finding" THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and my interest in your approach to a real American problem.

RICHARD M. JONES
Acting Director, Blue Cross Commission of the American Hospital Association
Chicago, Illinois

Bridging the Gap

To the Editor: One of my lifelong friends, the daughter of the late distinguished president of the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Charles Van Hise, himself a great humanist as well as a great

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scientist, gave me for a Christmas present this year a subscription to THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

I cannot forbear writing to you to express my deep appreciation for this magazine, as it serves a function that no other publication of which I have knowledge performs. THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, in my view, maintains in both quality of style and substance the finest tradition of classical scholarship, and makes it possible for those of us who read the classics for their eternal verities and their message of hope for the future to see these verities brought to the illumination of present-day uncertainties and bewilderments.

It is this bridging of the gap between the spirit of the classics and a world which must learn to live with an atomic bomb which gives THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR its unique value, and I could only wish that it might reach many thousands more readers who must feel as I do.

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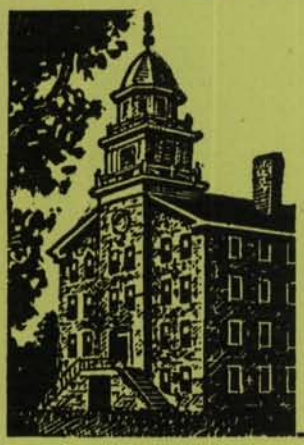

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A STATEMENT *by the*

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These few facts are accepted by all scientists:

1. Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive.
2. There is no military defense against atomic bombs, and none is to be expected.
3. Other nations can rediscover our secret processes by themselves.
4. Preparedness against atomic war is futile and, if attempted, will ruin the structure of our social order.
5. If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used, and they will surely destroy our civilization.
6. There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy and, ultimately, the elimination of war.

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